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Karpov Views Problem Areas at START Talks
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[Interview with V.P. Karpov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Administration for Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament, by Yu. Subbotin: "Discussions in Geneva: The Difficult Road to Progress"—date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Subbotin] Viktor Pavlovich! Questions of disarmament were central on the agenda for the recent visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. His talks and conversations with Soviet leaders were assessed positively by both sides. Could you say specifically what contribution the visit made to the progress of strategic arms reduction talks?

[Karpov] George Shultz' visit to Moscow was the first in a series of planned contacts at the level of the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state which was agreed on after the Washington summit meeting. The purpose of these contacts is to ensure the successful holding of the next summit meeting, this time in Moscow, in the first half of this year, and within that framework to prepare for the signing of very important documents during President Reagan's visit. These documents include, first and foremost, the treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, the relevant protocols to it, and a document reflecting the two sides' intention to comply with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was concluded in 1972 and not to withdraw from that treaty for a fairly long agreed-upon period.

Secretary of State Shultz reaffirmed the administration's readiness to consolidate the accord reached in Washington regarding compliance with the ABM Treaty. We would like to regard the secretary of state's position as an indication that the administration really intends to reach agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. True, I should point out that even since the secretary of state left Moscow there has been a rather contradictory signal from across the ocean in the form of President Reagan's interview for THE WASHINGTON POST, in which doubts and hesitations were expressed concerning the possibility of drafting the treaty in such a short time.

I think there is enough time, but it must not be wasted on empty debates in Geneva. Political will is required on both sides, but the basis, and a solid one at that, already exists.

[Subbotin] In connection with G. Shultz' visit to Moscow, it was said that a significant proportion of disarmament issues have now moved up to a higher level—the level of the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state. Why is this, in your opinion, and what functions remain for the delegations continuing their work in Geneva?

[Karpov] The visit and the ministers' subsequent meetings are necessary in order, so to speak, to sum up the work that is in progress on the level below, that is, at the level of the delegations in Geneva. The experience of drafting the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles showed that often, without an additional stimulus like that, the delegations slow down their pace of work to some extent and become bogged down in details. It requires active intervention in these matters at the political level, at the level of the foreign minister and secretary of state.

In this sense the present situation at the Geneva talks is worrying: Are they not becoming bogged down, as has happened before, in the quagmire of old stances? The U.S. delegation has deviated markedly from the principles agreed in Washington. For instance, our delegation, immediately the talks resumed on 15 January, submitted, strictly in accordance with the joint statement of 10 December 1987, a draft protocol on compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and on nonwithdrawal from it. The American side, in response, submitted a fat document on 22 January which is basically aimed not at complying with the ABM Treaty, but at replacing it. The document allows for the revocation of the treaty at any moment when one of the sides decides to embark on the deployment of large-scale ABM defense systems.

That was the situation we immediately confronted at the talks. And therefore the question of reaffirming the American position in the form agreed upon in Washington in December was posed very urgently for Secretary of State Shultz. From this example, it is easy to see the significance of contacts of this kind.

[Subbotin] Could you outline the range of problems that are the subject of differences and the keenest debates in Geneva at present?

[Karpov] There are several such issues. First of all, there are sea-launched cruise missiles equipped with nuclear warheads. We proposed at one time that these missiles be included in the overall upper limit for nuclear warheads, but the United States did not agree to that. The American side was not inclined to limit them at all. In the course of the Washington summit meeting, the United States for the first time expressed the readiness to establish a separate quantitative level for these missiles. The question now looks like this. To the overall level of 6,000 nuclear warheads on which the USSR and the United States have agreed as the limit after implementation of the 50-percent cut, the sides could add a certain quantity of sea-launched nuclear cruise missiles. Naturally, we advocate making this additional figure as low as possible.

We proposed limiting the number of these missiles to 400. This proposal is now on the negotiating table. And it is on the table in a rather strange state. The Soviet delegation is calling for concrete discussion, but the

American delegation merely expresses skeptical observations about our proposals and puts forward nothing in exchange. The Americans claim that the most important thing is the problem of verification, which has not been resolved, and that the Soviet proposals do not yet provide an answer to this question.

We are hoping that the group of experts set up on our initiative within the framework of the talks will tackle this problem head-on and find effective methods and forms of verification.

Another question concerns missiles deployed on heavy bombers. The United States is now trying to avoid a clear definition of the limit beyond which cruise missiles would be counted as strategic. At one time they were very insistently putting forward their own criterion—1,500 km. We believe that the limit agreed on earlier should be adhered to—600 km. The American side's claims that there have recently been significant improvements in air defense systems do not stand up to criticism. The most up-to-date air defense missile complexes have a range of operation of between 300 and 400 km. Therefore even a 600-km limit makes it possible to launch cruise missiles without coming within the zone of operation of air defense.

The American side is also trying to exploit the difference in the actual equipment of Soviet and American heavy bombers and to impose a solution which would give the United States unilateral advantages. Let me explain. Our heavy bombers are equipped with six cruise missiles. The American ones are now equipped with 12, and in future could have 20 or even 28. All the same, the United States has proposed counting six cruise missiles on each heavy bomber, regardless of how many there actually are on it. If you adopt this approach, the United States could "legally" have approximately 2,000 uncounted, but actually existing nuclear warheads over and above the 6,000 limit, while we would remain within that limit.

Naturally, this approach cannot be accepted, and our delegation has clear instructions to seek a solution which would offer the possibility of counting for each bomber of a given type whatever number of long-range cruise missiles is characteristic of that type. This was discussed, incidentally, during the meeting with Secretary of State Shuliz in Moscow.

There is also a whole series of problems associated with, for instance, mobile ICBM's. This question was also discussed in Moscow. A certain positive shift can be perceived in the American position—a recognition that the deployment of mobile ICBM's instead of stationary silo-based missiles is indeed a factor which strengthens strategic stability, since the survival of the means for a retaliatory strike is ensured. The United States does not yet have such missiles. This was evidently the factor that prompted the American side to seek a ban on our missiles, contrary to all logic and to their own assurances of commitment to strengthening strategic stability. The

secretary of state has now acknowledged the possibility of deploying ICBM's in the mobile form, although with the reservation that a special sublevel must be established for them and a reliable verification system ensured.

Incidentally, about verification. We advocate the broadest, most effective verification. The United States also comes out in favor of this. But we believe that all strategic systems should be subject to verification, not only those on U.S. and Soviet territory, but also abroad, in the event that they are stationed there. Much work still lies ahead to find a mutually acceptable verification system which will be all-embracing and rationally organized, without requiring excessive expenditure.

[Subbotin] And what are the sides' positions on SDI now?

[Karpov] Formally speaking, the United States continues to adhere to its "Strategic Defense Initiative," which President Reagan proclaimed in March 1983 and which has been his favorite offspring ever since. We understand that it is hard for him to give up this program when he has staked his reputation on it. But at the same time I think that there is an awareness in the U.S. Administration, expressed in the joint statement of 10 December last year, that without an accord on compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was originally signed, it is impossible to count on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms.

As yet the United States, in its work on SDI, is adhering to the framework set by the ABM Treaty.

[Subbotin] People who are not familiar with the details of the military-strategic balance of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and with the finer points of the talks on various types of arms sometimes express the fear that our side may be making bigger concessions than the other side makes in response. This applies first and foremost to the arithmetically bigger reduction in Soviet missiles under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the failure to count the British and French nuclear forces at the present stage of the disarmament process.

[Karpov] Decisions on questions concerning the Soviet Union's security are, of course, taken in the light of all the details of the problem and all the possible consequences for our country and its allies. The conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is by no means an indication that we have thereby accepted certain sacrifices as regards our security. The purpose of this decision is to start the process of moving along the path of the reduction of the most dangerous nuclear arms, to back up this trend by banning and eliminating chemical weapons and all other means of mass destruction, and also to follow the path of the substantial reduction of conventional arms in

Europe. This would ultimately make it possible to eliminate the imbalances between NATO and the Warsaw Pact which have become established for various reasons.

Yes, we are destroying more missiles. We are destroying them because at the moment of conclusion of the treaty we simply had more of them, while the United States had not yet finished implementing its program. At the moment we appear not to be taking Britain and France into account in the remaining balance. But that is not the case at all. We are taking into account both the British and the French nuclear might, but we believe that within the framework of the world balance of nuclear forces, taking into account other categories of arms, their role is not decisive at present. And therefore, until we and the United States have carried out a 50-percent reduction in our own strategic forces, we are well able to accept that Britain and France are not affected by nuclear arms reductions.

In any case, the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles removes, for us and our allies, the threat of a surprise attack by Pershing-2 and cruise missiles.

[Subbotin] In the event of the successful conclusion of a strategic arms treaty, what should be the next stage in the disarmament process, a process that our country is seeking to make continuous?

[Karpov] The next stage, we believe, should be broader coverage of nuclear weapons of various kinds. There is the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons and the reduction of the nuclear arsenals of all five nuclear powers. Such measures, combined with the attainment of an accord on the elimination of chemical weapons and with the reduction of conventional arms in Europe, should ensure the continuity of the disarmament process.

NATO Summit Attempts To 'Rally Allies'

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[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov "Military-Political Review": "Atlanticists' Brussels Lace"]

[Text] For many long decades the West strenuously cultivated the "image of the enemy" which it used day and night to intimidate ordinary people. And it must be said it has been highly successful. Stunned by the flow of misinformation about the "Soviet military threat," the taxpayers agreed almost submissively to finance the imposing military programs designed to defend the "free world" from the invasion from the East which is allegedly being prepared. The inflation of the threat, the British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT attests, became a kind of flourishing art in Washington and imitators appeared throughout the Western world.

And suddenly the old, well-adjusted mechanism has begun to falter. Specialists in inflating the myth of "socialism's aggressive intentions" have been noting increasingly frequently recently that their efforts are failing to produce results. The changes taking place in the Soviet Union and its vigorous actions aimed at consolidating world security are knocking the ground from under the feet of inveterate anti-Soviets and destroying old stereotypes.

This new situation is worrying Western statesmen who have made the "Soviet military threat" one of the cornerstones of their policy. For instance, THE INDEPENDENT notes, British Prime Minister M. Thatcher is beginning to be worried that in the era of glasnost, summit meetings, and arms control, "it is becoming difficult to make people take the Soviet threat seriously." According to Thatcher, "the impression of reason, of the desire to reduce tension, and the wish to rid the world of nuclear weapons" manifested particularly graphically in Moscow's policy at the present stage is exerting "obvious influence on public opinion in the West."

And Thatcher is not alone in being worried by this. The concept of creating a nuclear-free world put forward by the Soviet Union and the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which was the first step on the path toward this great goal, have met with the broadest approval in the world, including in NATO countries. In this situation it has become very difficult for the supporters of the "nuclear deterrent" concept who hold key positions in many Western states to militate for the modernization of NATO's nuclear and other arsenals. The West has come up against the need to work out new approaches to mutual relations with the East.

This week's extraordinary 2-day summit level session of the NATO Council was devoted to questions of NATO's long-term strategy. The main aim of the meeting of the NATO countries' leaders in the Belgian capital, in the opinion of THE NEW YORK TIMES, was to rally the allies and avert the deepening of the differences which have arisen since the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and "to demonstrate their unity of ranks at a moment when public opinion throughout Western Europe is increasingly coming under the influence of M.S. Gorbachev and the ideas of nuclear disarmament."

What were the differences which the participants in the session intended to cover up with the Brussels lace of the highly streamlined formulations of the final documents? Tactical nuclear weapons became the main stumbling block in mutual relations between the allies. It is highly characteristic that differences here exist not only between allies but also, figuratively speaking, within them. Thus, for instance, FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher is in favor of the speediest initiation of talks on nuclear battlefield weapons. But that country's defense minister, M. Woerner, who is preparing to take the post

of NATO secretary general soon, claims that Europe's complete liberation from nuclear weapons would be a grave error and would increase the threat of conventional war. A similar position is held by U.S. General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander, Europe, who is demanding, through "compensation" and modernization, the "elimination of the breaches" which the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is allegedly introducing in NATO defense.

On the eve of the Brussels NATO session French President F. Mitterrand set forth a different viewpoint. In an interview with the newspaper OUEST-FRANCE he expressed himself against the modernization of short-range nuclear weapons in Europe, stating that there is no urgent need to carry out this modernization. When, for the first time since World War II, the two blocs are embarking on the disarmament process, it would be untimely and paradoxical to implement arms upgrading. Mitterrand stressed. French Prime Minister J. Chirac looks at the tactical nuclear weapons problem differently. But it is perhaps British Prime Minister M. Thatcher who acts as the fiercest champion of the idea of nuclear modernization. She will not even permit the idea of renouncing nuclear weapons. Properly speaking, the British prime minister became one of the main motive forces of the present meeting, at which she persistently tried to persuade the allies of the expediency of the further buildup of the bloc's nuclear and conventional arsenals. It is notable that the "iron lady" began working over the allies even before the session. Having arrived in Brussels, Thatcher delivered a statement to the NATO envoys claiming that the Soviet Union intends to split NATO, sowing "confusion" in its ranks and "preparing the ground for aggression using conventional means."

But the authors of the documents adopted at the NATO Council session tried not to show their differences on nuclear weapons questions. Only the well-known viewpoint of Greece, which is in favor of the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms, was directly specified in the statement which was adopted. Although it approved the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the forthcoming 50 percent reduction of Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive armaments, the North Atlantic bloc confirmed its adherence to the "nuclear deterrent" concept.

The participants in the Brussels session paid great attention to questions of conventional armaments. One of the two documents adopted is wholly devoted to this problem. Indeed, it is called: "Conventional Arms Control: The Way Ahead." Actually the Atlanticists prescribe the way head—to radical conventional arms reductions—only for the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries. Their justification? The same as for the "compensation" idea—the Warsaw Pact's alleged superiority over NATO in conventional armaments.

As it were anticipating the NATO document, French Prime Minister J. Chirac recently urged the Western world to "prompt the Soviet Union to renounce the

means of intimidation which are mostly concentrated close to the iron curtain and represent one of the most serious obstacles to the development of confidential relations from the Atlantic to the Urals." It might be thought that there is no very powerful arsenal of NATO conventional weapons on the other side of the line dividing the Warsaw Pact and NATO in which the French prime minister for some reason entirely in the spirit of the "cold war" sees an "iron curtain." Why not, J. Chirac proposes, envisage a situation whereby at the end of the century the countries of both East and West Europe have no more foreign tanks than they have of their own? If this idea of France's, he exclaims pathetically, is adopted by everyone, the possibility of a surprise attack on West Europe would be considerably reduced.

Indeed, why not envisage this situation? But on condition that this idea extends also to NATO strike aircraft and combat helicopters. Then the possibility of a surprise attack on East Europe would also be considerably reduced. Or does Mr Chirac have some other ideas on this score?

The NATO representatives' claims of the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional armaments on land are unsubstantiated and do not withstand criticism. Why do their calculations fail to include the French and Spanish armed forces (1 million men, 20 divisions) on the NATO side? On what basis do they fail to count in the balance of forces that section of the armed forces which is under the NATO countries' national jurisdiction and why is no account taken of the reserve formations and depot stocks of arms and equipment? Why are the figures for the NATO armed forces deliberately reduced and those for the Warsaw Pact forces raised? The Brussels session failed to give answers to these questions.

The real correlation of forces in Europe is as follows: NATO and the Warsaw Pact have approximately equal total numbers of personnel and artillery. The Warsaw Pact has superiority over NATO with regard to tanks. NATO has superiority with regard to combat-ready formations and fighter bombers. As a whole there is approximate equilibrium, approximate parity for conventional armaments. Here the fraternal socialist countries have no intention of building up the ceiling of this parity. On the contrary, they are prepared for the most radical reductions in this field.

Anxious to promote confidence-building in Europe and the reduction of the danger of a surprise attack, the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries propose specific measures: reducing the concentration of armed forces and armaments to a minimum agreed level in the zone where the two military alliances are contiguous; withdrawing the most dangerous offensive types of armaments from this region; creating along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO a nuclear-free corridor 300 km wide (150 km on each side) from which all nuclear weapons would be withdrawn on a

mutual basis, and creating zones of reduced arms concentration and enhanced trust, comparing military doctrines and discussing "imbalances" at expert level. The withdrawal of Soviet missiles from the territory of the GDR and the CSSR was a specific practical step in this direction.

But there is no reciprocity on the NATO side. Instead the Atlanticists are demanding an increasing number of concessions to the detriment of the socialist countries' security. Yet at the same time the Atlanticists themselves, and this was reflected in the session's documents, intend to continue to indulge in military muscle building. NATO offices and headquarters are frenziedly elaborating plans for "compensation" for the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles which are being eliminated and plans for upgrading the bloc's arms. A decision has already been taken according to which the production of binary chemical weapons has been begun. The militarist aspect of integration processes in NATO is growing. And this is all being done under the old and extremely tattered flag of the notorious "threat from the East."

The new political thinking is an imperative of the nuclear missile era in which we live. Born in the Soviet Union, it is—albeit not rapidly enough—steadily blazing a trail to the West and taking possession of people's minds and hearts. Here is what E. Bahr, a Social Democratic Party of Germany deputy in the West German Bundestag, thinks on this subject: "...If something objectively necessary and correct is proposed to us, then this proposal cannot be rejected merely because it comes from the East... Time will be needed for the fears of contact which we have inherited to give way to an understanding of the fact that collective security can only be ensured by collective actions."

When will this time come? It looks as though the Brussels session did not even ask this question. "Let's arm ourselves"—it was under this general heading that the

newspaper L'HUMANITE published items on the meeting of the top-ranking Atlanticists. Commenting on the joint statement approved at the session, the newspaper stressed that its content is reminiscent of the "cold war" era and reflects fear and distrust of the disarmament process. It is impossible not to agree with this assessment.

Study Casts Doubt on Feasibility of SDI

*PM071517 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
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[TASS report: "Authoritative Conclusion"]

[Text] Washington, 27 Feb—The authoritative Washington Defense Information Center has come to the conclusion, after having thoroughly analyzed the very concept of the "star wars" program and its concrete aspects, that the implementation of SDI, which will require huge expenditure, will lead not to the elimination of strategic nuclear weapons, as its initiators affirm, but to new spirals in an increasingly dangerous arms race.

A study published by the Defense Information Center recalls that the overwhelming majority of the members of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, who are well-acquainted with "star wars" technology, have come to the conclusion that the creation of such an ABM defense system with space-based elements to completely protect the country's territory is technically impossible. The study points out that, even if they manage to deploy the SDI system at a cost of something on the order of a trillion dollars, the opposing side can neutralize it efficiently and with rather less expenditure.

The surest means of reducing the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war, the study points out, is a reduction in strategic nuclear armaments and for this the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty must be strictly observed and SDI in its present form must be renounced altogether.

Leaders Attend Women's Day Ceremony

LD052049 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1355 GMT carries a 70-minute live relay from the Bolshoy Theater in Moscow in honor of International Women's Day on 8 March. The relay opens with scenes from the Bolshoy. A distant shot shows people entering onto the presidium from both sides of the stage. The first shows Zaykov, Ligachev, Gromyko, Gorbachev, Nizovtseva, secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, and Biryukova standing and applauding as others continue to enter. Nikonov, Slyunkov, Kapitonov, Baklanov, (Maslyukov), Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Yazov, Demichev, Talyzin, Dolgikh, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Solomentsev, and Chebrikov are also shown seated in the presidium at the gathering.

Nizovtseva opens the meeting saying: "Allow me, on the instructions of the Moscow Gorkom, the Moscow Gorkomspolkom, the City Council of Trade Unions, and the City Komsomol Committee, to declare open the festive assembly of representatives of party, local soviet, and public organizations of the City of Moscow in Honor of International Women's Day, 8 March."

The Soviet National Anthem is played, which is followed by Nizovtseva reading out the text of the greetings message from the CPSU Central Committee. The greetings say:

"Dear women, the CPSU Central Committee cordially congratulates you on International Women's day, the celebration of international solidarity between the women of our planet. This bright spring celebration is filled with a feeling of profound respect and love for women, mothers, toilers, and patriots, of the socialist motherland. The names of our glorious fellow countrywomen are written large in the history of the revolutionary movement and the labor and combat biography of the land of the Soviets. Great October and the party of Lenin gave women, for the first time, the opportunity and real guarantees of taking control of their own destinies and of participating fully in social and economic transformations, and opened up broad access to education, science, culture, and state administration.

"Today, at a crucial period in the revolutionary restructuring, at the decisive stage of the fight to implement the decisions of the 27th party congress, Vladimir Ilich Lenin's statement that it is only with the assistance of women, their thoughtfulness, and awareness that the construction of the new society can be reinforced, are being perceived in their full significance. Constant attention toward improving Soviet women's leisure and labor conditions, the construction of housing, schools, kindergartens, nursery schools, and polyclinics and mother-and-child health care have become the principal elements of the party and state's social policy, today's primary tasks. Women's councils, operating in towns and villages, in enterprises and residential developments, must, together with trade union organizations,

persistently strive to eliminate heavy manual labor, to provide women with the necessary conditions for the best combination of production and public activities with family obligations, to monitor the introduction of established privileges, and to assist mothers with large families. Socialist society has a vital interest in establishing elevated morality everywhere and in everything as an immutable norm of life. It requires high standards and decency in relations between people and the reinforcement of the family. It concentrates its efforts on bringing up a worthy young generation—educated, healthy, searching, convinced, and committed to communist ideals. The role of women in tackling all these major economic and socio-political tasks and in rejuvenating society's spiritual and ethical atmosphere is indispensable.

"The mass movement of women peace fighters which is taking shape in the new international situation is becoming an increasingly influential force. Soviet women are making a weighty contribution to the implementation of the Soviet program for mankind's advancement toward a world without nuclear weapons.

"Dear women: From the bottom of our hearts, we wish you good health, happiness, joy, and success at work, in study, creative, and public activities. May your families grow stronger and may the happy laughter of children sound in your homes! Honor and glory to Soviet Women! Long live the unity and solidarity of working women throughout the world!

"From the CPSU Central Committee."

Nizovtseva then hands the floor over to Comrade Valentina Vladimirovna Tereshkova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Links with Foreign Countries, hero of the Soviet Union, for the report. Tereshkova is shown reading the report, during which she says: "Dear comrades: We have just heard the heartfelt warm words of greeting from the CPSU Central Committee to Soviet women. How we cherish the party's attentiveness, its trust, and conviction that the women of the land of the Soviets are continuing, with honor, the cause of Great October.

"Today, women are working without being subjected to discrimination. However, it is also important to know just how satisfied they are with their professions and what opportunities they have—actual ones rather than merely proclaimed opportunities—for promotion at work and for raising their general education, professional, and cultural level. Many women are still engaged in poorly qualified heavy labor in industry, agriculture, and the construction sector. It is far from always the case that technical reequipping of production is accompanied by a rise in the workers' level of qualification. The new management methods now allow enterprises to set aside part of their self-financing income for improving working conditions and labor protection provisions for women. Frequently, however, they reduce expenditure on

these things. Yet women have to feel that they are socially protected and able to use the rights granted by the Law on the State Enterprise in the area of labor and domestic conditions.

"In the last few years alone more than 30 normative-legal acts have been adopted on all these issues in our country. The process of democratization poignantly raises the issue of adherence to the laws and obligations. This will help them to become even more enterprising participants in the restructuring. The implementation of the social program of the 27th party congress is of great importance. Shortcomings in housing construction, the work of the retail sector, public catering, domestic services, and health care affect women most of all. They lead to physical, nervous, and psychological stresses and take up leisure time. The question of finding, for women, a harmonious combination of the duties of toiler, citizen, and mother, remains a topical one."

Tereshkova talks about Lenin on women's equality, the importance of family relationships, women's councils doing good work, and about women's boundless love for the motherland.

Tereshkova continues, saying:

"To a considerable extent it is up to us women to ensure that the cultural link between the generations is not broken. Our culture's multinational nature is its unique feature. It is only with profound respect for the dignity, honor, language, traditions, and history of each people, and with broad intercourse between them, that true friendship between peoples is possible. No mother will agree to her children being threatened by national dissension instead of the firm bonds of fraternity, equality, mutual aid, of the truly great acquisition of socialism. It is the sacred duty of every mother to bring up a genuine citizen of the USSR, a convinced internationalist, and a steadfast fighter for friendship between peoples."

Tereshkova goes on to talk about women throughout the world greeting the INF treaty and says that women continue to struggle for disarmament. She says that Soviet links with other countries are growing and that Soviet women sympathize with women in strife-torn countries. Tereshkova concludes the report, saying:

"Today the people of the world have their eyes on Moscow, on the stronghold and hope of peace, on the land of the Soviets, which is beating a path to a world without nuclear weapons, to the salvation of human civilization. Dear comrades, allow me, on your behalf, to assure the party and its Central Committee that Soviet women will usher in the 19th all-Union Party Conference with new labor achievements and will make their weighty contribution to the revolutionary rejuvenation of society and to preserving peace on earth. Peace and happiness to you, dear comrades! Peace and happiness to our big, beloved common home—the Soviet motherland!" Tereshkova's report is greeted with applause.

Nizovtseva hands over to actor V. Lanovoy, who pronounces a panegyric on women. Pioneers then enter the hall and proceed to sing and dance. Following this Nizovtseva declares the assembly closed.

Pact-NATO Mandate Talks Held in Vienna

LD071100 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT
7 Mar 88

[Text] Vienna March 7 TASS—NATO and the Warsaw treaty countries held a meeting in Vienna today within the framework of bilateral consultations on working out the mandate of future talks on reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Carrington on Chemical Weapons, 'Good' Proposals

LD061819 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1500 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Interview with Lord Carrington, NATO secretary general, by correspondent Kipras Mazheyka from the "International Panorama" program, presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov; Carrington speaks in English with superimposed Russian translation; date, time of interview not given]

[Text] [Correspondent Kipras Mazheyka] I think it will be interesting to learn how the participants in the Brussels rally regard it themselves. This question is put to Lord Carrington, NATO secretary general. [Mazheyka in English with superimposed Russian translation] What is special about this third extraordinary NATO summit?

[Carrington] As you know, our alliance unites 16 independent states. We now live in a world that is developing very dynamically. A treaty has already been signed to eliminate two classes of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and we all came to the common opinion that it is essential to meet and plan out our future action and, at the same time, evaluate what we've done in the past. I believe that all taking part in the session were trying to clarify these points, but most importantly to decide how to advance further along the road to disarmament. I am now convinced that when President Reagan meets Mr. Gorbachev at the end of May or the beginning of June he will have the chance to speak on behalf of all 16 NATO countries to promote a lowering in the overall level of armaments.

[Mazheyka, facing camera] Does my partner in conversation see the decision adopted in Evre as a response commensurate with the proposals put forward by the Warsaw Pact member-countries in Budapest and in the speeches of Comrade Gorbachev? [to Carrington, in English] Please.

[Carrington] I think that these are good proposals in as much as we, like you, are striving for progress at the talks on both conventional and chemical weapons. At the moment, representatives of both NATO and the Warsaw

Pact are working out a mandate for future talks, and on this level we have put forth appropriate proposals. I hope the boost provided by the results of our conference of 2-3 March will facilitate this aim being rapidly achieved and that talks may begin next summer. We are striving to conclude a treaty to ban chemical weapons. This question disturbs us greatly and we favor a total ban on chemical weapons, with the proviso of a special agreement providing for reliable verification methods. In seeking the signing of such a document, we must remember that it is highly difficult to monitor [kontrolirovat] its observance. It is very difficult to verify the presence of chemical weapons. Even monitoring itself is no simple problem: It is doubly complex. Of course we do have grounds for being cautious since the Warsaw Pact has greater chemical weapon stockpiles than we do. I think, however, that there is an additional argument in favor of banning chemical weapons. The point is that this matter is not a problem merely for NATO or the Warsaw Pact. There are third countries, as we know, that have chemical weapon stockpiles. I think the sooner we reach an agreement on banning chemical weapons the better it will be for us all.

Commentators Discuss Arms Control, Afghanistan
LD050523 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1315 GMT 4 Mar 88

[“International Situation—Questions and Answers” program presented by Konstantin Patsyuk, All-Union Radio commentator, with Vladimir Ivanovich Bogachev, TASS military observer; Colonel Viktor Ivanovich Filatov, member of the editorial board of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA]

[Excerpts] [Patsyuk] Hello, esteemed comrades! As always, our program is based upon letters from listeners. In previous editions, we have replied to listeners' questions linked with the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Letters are continuing to come in on this subject. In particular we have received letters from Comrade (?Kornakov) from Lipetsk Oblast and Grigoriy Sergeyevich Latyshev from Orel Oblast. Both of them are veterans of the Great Patriotic War and of labor. We have also heard from Demyan Petrovich Sinyuk from Nikolayev and from others. We have already answered some of the questions they ask. Others will receive replies in subsequent programs. Today we would like to deal with another issue, strategic offensive armaments. We think listeners will be interested in learning about how things stand today with the discussion of this question at the Geneva talks. Vladimir Ivanovich Bogachev, TASS military observer, is going to talk about this now. Thank you.

[Bogachev] First of all, I would like to remind you what we mean by strategic offensive armaments. These are weapons systems with a range in excess of 5,500 kilometers. They include intercontinental ballistic missiles,

which are based on the ground either in specially reinforced silos or on mobile installations; ballistic missiles on modern nuclear submarines; heavy bombers; and also long-range sea-based cruise missiles. Strategic offensive armaments take first place among all categories of nuclear weapons by their nuclear mega-tonnage, by the number of nuclear warheads, and by the number of delivery vehicles. As of 1 January 1988 the Soviet Union had about 2,500 launching installations and heavy bombers; the United States had somewhat fewer—2,260. Soviet strategic delivery means carry approximately 10,000 nuclear warheads, while U.S. ones carry 1 and 1/2 times as many, approximately 14,000-15,000.

[Patsyuk] I asked about the progress of the talks in Geneva.

[Bogachev] The question of approximately halving strategic offensive armaments belonging to both sides is currently being discussed there. The Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington brought the sides closer to a solution of the cardinal disarmament problem. Way back in Reykjavik, the sides agreed to reduce each of the sides' strategic armaments to 1,600 means of delivery, and the nuclear warheads on them to 6,000.

[Patsyuk] As we know, other accords were also reached at the Washington meeting. It is very important that the Soviet Union and the United States coordinated the question of the need to work out accords that would place an obligation upon both sides to observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

[Bogachev] The preamble to the 1972 Soviet-U.S. treaty points out that effective measures in limiting antimissile defense systems will be a significant factor in curbing the strategic offensive armaments race and will lead to a reduction in the risk of war being unleashed with the use of nuclear weapons. And vice versa, the unlimited buildup of antimissile armaments will lead to another twist in the race in strategic offensive systems, and in particular in those that will be able to overcome an antimissile defense system.

[Patsyuk] U.S. President Ronald Reagan announced the U.S. Star Wars program 5 years ago. In what way has this program influenced the possibility of a reduction in strategic offensive armaments?

[Bogachev] The U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative envisages the deployment in space around the earth—and primarily over the territory of the socialist countries—of thousands of units of strike weapons. These are nuclear-triggered beam and laser systems, kinetic guns, and similar space-based armaments. Their deployment and even their testing is prohibited by the 1972 treaty. Specialists prove convincingly that these systems are to be used primarily for purposes of attack. There exists an important link between the nonmilitarization of space and the reduction of strategic offensive armaments.

[Patsyuk] It is of course pointless to reduce armaments on a relatively limited area of the earth's surface if at the same time the green light is being given to the unrestrained deployment of even more dangerous weapon systems in truly limitless space.

[Bogachev] It is for this very reason that the Soviet Union will allow the possibility of reducing strategic armaments only if the sides undertake not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty during the agreed-upon period.

[Patsyuk] The question of how the sides are carrying out at the Geneva talks the accords achieved in the course of the Washington summit is now a completely natural one.

[Bogachev] At the Geneva talks, the U.S. delegation is trying to distort some of the accords which were reached in Washington. Supporters of SDI in the United States depict things as if the working out of a strategic offensive armaments treaty could be carried out without interlinkage with observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. They are insisting on having an unlimited right to test and even to deploy nuclear space weapons. Some people are even asserting that the USSR has allegedly given up its position of principle on the nonmilitarization of space. In fact the issue of the nonmilitarization of space and the issue of the observance of the ABM Treaty are at the core of the USSR's position on the entire set of disarmament problems.

[Patsyuk] What is the situation at the talks with regard to the limitation of long-range sea-based cruise missiles?

[Bogachev] In Geneva the U.S. side is effectively refusing to carry out the provisions of the joint summit statement on the search for mutually-acceptable solutions on the limitation of long-range sea-based cruise missiles. Furthermore the U.S. side has started to complicate the process of the talks.

[Patsyuk] How is this expressed in specific terms?

[Bogachev] The United States is demanding additional limitations on ground-based missiles which are not envisaged by the accord reached in Washington. On the other hand the United States wants to weaken the limitations that have already been agreed upon on sea-based armaments, where the advantage is now on their side.

[Patsyuk] Please say what the prospects are for the conclusion of a treaty on strategic offensive armaments this year with the sides observing the treaty restricting ABM systems?

[Bogachev] There are grounds for believing that the hopeful moves in putting together a treaty on reducing strategic armaments which took shape during the summit meeting in Washington are not yet receiving further development through the fault of the U.S. side. Washington is trying to secure the revision of a number of

important points that were agreed to at the summit meeting and that were set down in the joint statement by the leaders of the USSR and the United States.

[Patsyuk] Overall, the signing of a treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles opened up very promising prospects for achieving progress in all other areas of disarmament. The important thing is not to let slip the opportunities that have been opened up. It is essential that this impetus be used to keep up the tempo of constructive talks on strategic offensive armaments and to make the disarmament process a continuous and an irreversible one. Is that not so?

[Bogachev] Of course it is. It is precisely upon those points that the joint Soviet-U.S. summit statement is based. It is important for the practical foreign policy actions of the United States also to be carried out in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the decisions made during the latest Washington meeting. [passage omitted]

[Patsyuk] The editorial offices are receiving many letters, now that the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan has nearly become a reality. They are varied in their content. There are letters from mothers who have lost sons in Afghanistan and who want to share their pain. There are letters from internationalist servicemen who have carried out their duty with honor and who have returned home. There are letters from people who are not indifferent to other people's misfortune and who display a real interest in everything that is linked with Afghanistan and the presence there and forthcoming withdrawal of our troops. All of these letters have one thing in common: pride over the fact that our people held out a helping hand at a difficult moment for the Afghan people: We did not turn away, we helped, we helped it to stand its ground in the struggle against the enemy. All of that is true. Asserting the opposite means failure to understand what happened and what is happening in Afghanistan. A great deal is now being spoken about that country. In our mailbag and in the press one comes across statements about whether in fact we were right to send Soviet troops into Afghanistan. Colonel Viktor Ivanovich Filatov, member of the editorial board of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is today going to share his thoughts on this subject.

[Filatov] I will substantiate what I say by quoting an article published recently in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. The author of the article is the writer Prokhanov. The article itself, appearing in the "Writer's Opinion" column, is entitled: "Afghan Questions". It tries to make a first analysis—and it delivers a judgment—in connection with the introduction of our troops into Afghanistan and with their withdrawal. This is the question the writer starts with. So we were wrong to put them in? I do not think that the questions can be put in that way. The prognosis was incorrect. The experts got it wrong when they assessed the situation in the country. The specialists on Islam, the diplomats, the politicians,

the military men made mistakes, because—I repeat—the main objectives were not achieved. All these are the words of the writer. I think that Prokhanov will have a lot of opponents to these opinions, because every word here arouses incomprehension at the very least.

However, first of all about the aims that we allegedly failed to achieve. What were these aims? After insistent requests from the Afghans, we had to give them assistance in driving off external aggression and internal counterrevolution, and we also had to make our own southern frontiers reliably secure. There were no other aims. Haven't these aims been achieved? Is the government in Kabul today headed by the brother of Pinochet? By the brother of Ziaul Haq, the dictator of Pakistan? By the brother of Imam Khomeyni? In Afghanistan today is there a network of U.S. military bases deployed against us, as there was not so long ago in Iran, and as is the case today in Turkey? Our southern frontiers have been reliably defended, or to be more precise the whole southern sector. The threat from that sector was considerably reduced immediately, and it was an enormous one. Remember how private soliders in postwar times have become Heroes of the Soviet Union in precisely this southern sector. It was here, too, that we dug the first graves for our soldiers after the war. Decades after the war, one of our airmen undertook an aerial ramming and perished in this very place, in the southern sector. This has to be understood, we have to go back more often to those days, days of extreme tension, with large numbers of clashes on the frontier on nearly the whole of its southern sector. Then one sees the great strategic meaning of the whole Afghan campaign. No, not every provocation on the frontier leads to full-scale war. But not one single war has started without a frontier provocation. Once again it is necessary to repeat how things stand as far as others are concerned. The United States for example, considers that the frontier of their own national security runs through Cairo, Baghdad, Kabul and Islamabad. Where does ours run? Does it still through Stalingrad, through the main streets of Voznezh, 40 kilometers away from Moscow? Of course, I haven't learned anything, you can have it that way.

[Patsyuk] Viktor Ivanovich, would you now address the point about the mistakes?

[Filatov] When our troops entered Afghanistan 8 years ago, they were met with flowers. Our battalions established their garrisons not in towns and villages, but 10 and more kilometers away from them, amid the mountains and the deserts. Our soldiers gave the Afghans reliable cover from the aggression coming from East and West. Now there are some people who are grinning and constantly taking us journalists to task for allegedly writing then that our soldiers in Afghanistan had done nothing more than plant trees and hold joint recreational evenings. But their grinning is in vain. At first that is how it was. The coffins came later. Everything happened

in that space of time between the throwing of the last flower upon the hood of our tank and the appearance of the first zinc coffin. There are the answers to all our questions today.

Incidentally, I wouldn't start talking about any mistakes on our part. It would be more correct to talk about how much we have been able to do for Afghanistan. No doubt we could have done more. That kind of talk, I think, is more productive. The troops were in garrisons. The Afghans saw them day by day. Only them. But life in the towns and villages did not change for the better. At their own risk the soldiers started to distribute rice, salt, matches, and paraffin to the peasants. They gave medical assistance using the efforts of their medical personnel. It would also happen that soldiers would go out into the fields to help the peasants with their work. But none of this was their direct job. That is not why they were brought in. But time passed. The soldiers continued to remain isolated during their stay in someone else's country. However, our common enemy did not slumber. He has enormous experience in such matters. It was no Afghan peasant that fired the first shot at our soldiers. That was not what he needed. It was later on that he was drawn into the free-for-all. I don't think there's one single town in Afghanistan today which doesn't have a twin town in the USSR. It would appear that business contacts are being established with cities of ours and with whole republics. But it seems that all of this has taken place too late. But when was the right time? The very day that our troops crossed the frontier. The vehicles of our troops should have been carrying what are called merchants, economic managers, industrialists. The kinds of tasks that they are equipped to deal with should have been solved.

[Patsyuk] And now about the question as to whether our troops are to blame for Afghanistan.

[Filatov] I think they made an accurate diagnosis. They were quite right in their assessment of the situation. Nor do our diplomats and politicians carry any blame for Afghanistan. The diplomats worked very well in that situation. When the time comes, this will be given the assessment it deserves. And we have large numbers of specialists on Islam. They couldn't make a mistake. For nearly half the population of Afghanistan is made up of the same Uzbeks, Turkmens, Tajiks, and Kazakhs. So for our country, Islam is not some strange thing from across the seas, it is not a face behind an enigmatic yashmak. It is the faith of virtually the greater part of all our believers. If someone did not do a complete job of work here, it was the same old chap, our own pedlar and industrialist, sluggish and difficult to rouse, lacking in initiative and bureaucratized.

For 8 years we fought joint battles with Afghan troops. That's part of our relations, too. In the whole spectrum of our joint relations, however, these should have perhaps accounted for the tiniest part, though as things turned out it was the other way around. The troops will

depart, no one brought them in there forever. There is no question here, and don't let anyone give us faint and taunting praise for the courage that we are supposedly displaying in doing this. The troops will certainly depart. That was stated on the very day on which we went in. I am in complete agreement with the writer Prokhanov when he writes that our troops have fulfilled magnificently the task that they were assigned: a specific task. Afghanistan will never be what it would have become had not our soldier and internationalist helped it and gone to its aid. Throughout all of these 8 years, our warrior and internationalist has been within earshot and in sight of the whole world. We knew him, we loved him, we love him, and we will love him always. [passage omitted]

CSCE Delegate Doubts West's Interest

*LD051525 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT
5 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 5 TASS—"Reports from Vienna, where the 3rd meeting of representatives of CSCE member countries is being held, show that the Western countries are not interested in progress in discussing humanitarian problems", a TASS diplomatic correspondent was told by Yuvenaliy Polyakov, spokesman of the Directorate for Humanitarian and Cultural Ites of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"The Soviet side proceeds from the premise that readiness for extensive human contacts, for an exchange of objective information, mutually advantageous scientific

ties and international cooperation in human rights is an imperative condition of easing tensions and strengthening peace", Yuvenaliy Polyakov said. "Proceeding from this, the Soviet delegation and the delegations of other socialist countries have presented a whole series of proposals on all aspects of humanitarian cooperation for consideration by the participants in the meeting".

"Yet the situation in the editorial group drafting the relevant articles of the concluding document cannot be described as satisfactory. There are very few agreed-upon wordings that are ready for inclusion in the document", the Soviet spokesman said further. "On many issues the Western partners are keeping to an unrealistic stand, often of the nature of an ultimatum, and are making demands that contradict the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final act. At the very same time they are reluctant to adopt obligations concerning human rights. The impression is that somebody has decided to block the work along the humanitarian direction and under this pretext to put a brake on the work along other directions, thus making the entire Vienna meeting a sort of 'hostage of the third basket'. Those who resort to such tactics should bear full responsibility for the possible consequences".

"Objective preconditions for working out substantial accords developing and deepening the cooperation of member states in humanitarian fields do exist", Yuvenaliy Polyakov stressed. "One must not complicate artificially the process of reaching agreement, renounce the tactics of ultimatums, linkages and the deliberate creation of impasses, and start taking into account each other's lawful interests".

United States & Canada

Cranston, Others Arrive in Moscow

LD071656 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT
7 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—A group of senators and scientists from the United States arrived in Moscow today at the invitation of the USSR parliamentary group. It is headed by Alan Cranston, deputy Democratic majority leader in the U.S. Senate.

Reagan Radio Address on NATO Session Noted

LD060149 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
0125 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Washington, 6 Mar (TASS)—U.S. President Ronald Reagan devoted his latest radio address to relations with the USSR and the NATO Council session at head of state and government level, which was held in Brussels last week. "Negotiations with the Soviet Union must always be conducted from a position of strength", the U.S. President declared, saying that discussion in Brussels turned on how "to implement this lesson".

Expressing himself in favor of reducing the U.S. and USSR nuclear arsenals by half, Reagan asserted that "modernization of NATO's nuclear and conventional forces" was necessary for this. According to the President, modernization is also necessary in order to bring about a reduction in the Warsaw Pact's alleged superiority in conventional weapons. He once again campaigned for the realization of the "star wars" program, describing it as "part of the response to the aggressive Soviet strategy on the continent of Europe".

No 'Unrestrained Growth' in '89 Military Budget

PM041345 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88
Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan "Correspondent's Comment": "Distortion"]

[Text] Washington, 26 Feb—"How Do You Spell 'Disappointment?'" "B-U-D-G-E-T!"

This joke, based on a good measure of truth, has been circulating for a long time on Capitol Hill. It surfaces every time the White House sends yet another draft U.S. federal budget for examination by Congress.

This year was no exception, even though J. Miller, director of the Office of Management and Budget, did tell journalists: "They (the congressmen—V.G.) will not be able to criticize us for spending too much on military purposes and not enough on social programs."

At first glance, the draft federal income and expenditure account for fiscal 1989, which has only just been submitted to Congress, appears to be the most compromising

document of the Reagan administration's term. In an election year, the administration decided not to annoy Congress too much and to squeeze its budget proposals within the overall framework of expenditures agreed in talks with legislators in November.

What is the result? Despite its observance of all formalities, the document leaves no doubt that, as Americans, say, "the devil lurks in details." The draft, which has reached the level of 1.1 trillion dollars, has been drawn up according to a principle which has become standard in Washington—further pumping of funds into the implementation of military programs. According to custom, these programs reflect all the U.S. militarist concepts including the plan for ensuring military superiority over the USSR.

It is true that, recognizing that the time of unrestrained growth of military expenditure is now past, the administration has somewhat moderated its ardor. The planned appropriations for the Pentagon in the next fiscal year amount to 299.5 billion dollars, which is 2 percent more than this year. But the military department, which had initially requested almost 350 billion dollars, will hardly experience any major inconvenience as a result.

The "Star Wars" program remains the Pentagon's chief priority, with 5 billion dollars planned to be spent on its needs, this being 1.1 billion dollars more than current appropriations. Additional billions have been earmarked for the building of first-strike weapons systems—MX ICBM's, B-1 and "Stealth" bombers, and "Trident" submarines. Almost 8 billion dollars have been requested for nuclear tests and the production of new nuclear charges.

According to official data, U.S. expenditure on military purposes has increased by 52 percent in 1980-1987, while social programs have been cut back by between 35 and 74 percent.

References to the need to achieve a reduction of budget deficit serve to camouflage the course of "less butter, more guns." According to administration calculations, the deficit ought to fall from the 146.7 billion dollars expected this year to 129.5 billion dollars in 1989. It must be said that, in the opinion of many experts, these figures are arbitrary and based on "economic optimism scenarios" which are trusted less and less here.

U.S. Economic, Political Pressure on Panama

LD042111 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Disturbing reports keep coming to our editorial office from Panama. As you know, Comrades, for the last 2 weeks that Central American republic has been the object of gross political and economic pressure brought to bear on it by the United States. What is the matter? Why has a tiny country at a great canal linking the

Pacific with the Atlantic aroused Uncle Sam's wrath and irritation? I am addressing these questions to a colleague of mine, commentator Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants.

[Agayants] No doubt, the situation within Panama itself and around it causes serious concern and this is so precisely because Washington has decided once again and far from the first time in our memory to use hard pressing, in other words speaking in sports terms, to bring unceremonious and open pressure to bear upon the Panamanian Government along all lines in order to preserve the U.S. military presence in Panama. By preserving its bases there the United States hopes to keep all of Latin America and the Caribbean zone under its vigilant control.

[Announcer] You mean, Nikolay Ivanovich, that strategic goals are being pushed to the forefront?

[Agayants] Precisely. There can be no doubts about this. Beside, Washington does not even try to keep secret its far-reaching plans.

[Announcer] That is why ever-louder calls to revise the U.S.-Panamanian accords relating to the complete transfer of the transoceanic canal to its legal owner by the year 2000 are voiced in the United States.

[Agayants] Absolutely. This is the gist of the affair, because then the United States would have to remove all its bases and installations from the zone. Nowhere—I stress—nowhere is the development of events in Panama being followed as closely as in the Southern U.S. Army Headquarters in the area of the Panama Canal. General (Sissners) boasted to an NBC correspondent that the top brass did not think Panamanians would attack them, yet if the Pentagon gave orders to fight Noriega and his National Defense Forces Washington would win quickly and easily. This way passions are whipped up.

[Announcer] Obviously, all evils have been put to use—political blackmail, economic pressure.

[Agayants] Yes, the United States has suspended its aid to Panama and has frozen Panamanian accounts in its banks. Congress urges the administration to introduce an embargo on trade with the disobedient. There have been attempts to involve the Organization of American States in the anti-Panamanian campaign too; however, the majority of representatives from Latin American countries have refused to adopt a provocative anti-Panamanian resolution.

[Announcer] I understand; attempts have also been made to act like in Chile, so to speak, to provoke chaos and public discontent by staging anti-government strikes.

[Agayants] This time, Petr Rafaelyevich, the favorite U.S. device has failed, however, and misfired. Practically nobody in the republic responded to a call by the

coalition of opposition parties—the National Civil Crusade—just think what a name they have chosen for themselves! The plans of reaction to destabilize the situation in the country have failed, yet provocations continue. The sky over Panama is still clouded and the situation remains extremely tense there.

Retired U.S. Officer on Black Sea Mission
LD061330 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT
6 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 6 TASS—What were two U.S. warships doing in the Black Sea last month? And who sent them there, at a time when their mission risked explosive political damage to Soviet-American relations? These questions are asked in an article in the newspaper WASHINGTON POST today by retired Rear Admiral of the U.S. Navy Eugene Carroll, a leading figure of the influential Washington-based Centre for Defence Information.

Eugene Carroll describes these actions by the U.S. naval ships as a "provocative mission" and expresses the view that the decision to send these ships to the Soviet shores was "made at the highest levels of our government". "a great deal more than just the immediate safety of 700 American navymen hung on the outcome of this dangerous encounter," he points out. "If the ensuing collisions had resulted in a nuclear incident or serious injury of crew members aboard the Yorktown and Caron, U.S.-Soviet relations would have taken a sharp change, of course. "The INF Treaty now in a difficult voyage throughout troubled waters in the U.S. Senate, might very well have been the first casualty." The rear admiral recalls that in March 1986 the same two U.S. warships—Yorktown and Caron—entered Soviet waters. He expresses the view that the "Congress should ask some tough questions about the Black Sea incident."

Retired General Condemns VOA 'Fabrications'
LD070906 Moscow TASS in English 0724 GMT
7 Mar 88

[Text] Vilnius March 7 TASS—Soviet retired Major General Pranas Petronis has condemned the fabrications spread by the Voice of America that the Soviet system was allegedly forced on Lithuania in 1940.

Prior to the summer of 1940, when in keeping with the Lithuanian people's will Soviet power was restored in the republic, Pranas Petronis serviced in the bourgeois army. He told a TASS correspondent that "most of the men and officers welcomed the choice made by the people and joined it. "Soviet power in Lithuania was also welcomed by Vincas Vitkauskas, the commander-in-chief of the bourgeois Lithuanian army, later a general of the Soviet Army.

During the years of the Second World War, Petronis said, 150 thousand Lithuanians took an active part in the fight against the Nazi occupation troops. All of them also

fought for Soviet power in Lithuania's territory. Petronis himself traversed among the ranks of the Lithuanian division of the Red Army a glorious path from the Russian city of Oryol to the Lithuanian port of Klaipeda on the Baltic Sea.

Petronis recalled that the attempts of the Nazis at cobbling together military units from among the local citizens with propaganda aims had suffered a fiasco. Only a small bunch of traitors began to serve the occupation authorities and took part in the mass annihilation of peaceful citizens. War criminal Albert-Helmut Rauka, on the chiefs of the Nazi security police in occupied Lithuania, who was tried in West Germany a few years ago, once admitted in his report to Berlin: "The Lithuanians do not work support the war effort of the Germans. They refuse to work for the benefit of the Reich and do not join the Wehrmacht."

Petronis often meets also with Lithuanians who now live abroad, but when visiting Lithuania they can see for themselves the spectacular achievements in the economy and social wellbeing made by the inhabitants of the republic in the fraternal family of the Soviet peoples.

"Only those who took part in the annihilation of 700 thousand peaceful civilians and then fled to the West from the popular wrath, do not visit Lithuania. Tens of butchers of the Lithuanian people have found a safe haven in the USA. These "freedom fighters" serve the aims which are in conflict with the interests of the Lithuanian people."

Soviet-U.S. Trade Talks To Start Next Week

LD061147 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
0748 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Washington, 6 Mar (TASS)—By mutual accord of the sides, a session of the Soviet-U.S. commission for trade and the annual meeting of the U.S.-Soviet Trade and Economic Council will be held in Moscow in the week beginning 11 April.

Bilateral Space Photography Venture Discussed

LD041839 Moscow World Service in English
1600 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Trade Agency, Soyuzkarta and the American company Geodyne have held talks in Moscow on setting up a joint venture in the United States to reproduce and sell materials of Soviet space photography. The pictures are to be taken from Soviet satellites and the Mir orbital complex. The chief cartographer of the USSR, Dr Viktor Yashchenko, said the quality of the pictures is very high. In the Soviet Union close to a thousand agencies and organizations make use of space photos.

USSR-Canada Transarctic Expedition Begins 3 Mar LD042225 Moscow TASS in English 2018 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 5 TASS—The Soviet-Canadian Transarctic Expedition took start on March 3 from the Soviet Cape Arkticheskiy and traversed its first kilometres.

The head of the expedition, Dmitri Shparo, reported to base camp on Sredny Island that the weather had sharply deteriorated: a blizzard with strong frontal winds.

"We took start at 14.30 local time and by evening advanced by about ten kilometres", Shparo reported. "We intend to cover about twenty kilometres a day in such weather".

Communications with the expedition will be maintained every evening before bed time.

Gorbachev Greets Skiers

PM071125 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 88
Second Edition p 1

["Text" of Gorbachev message to Soviet-Canadian Ski Expedition; date of message not given]

[Text] To the Participants in the Soviet-Canadian Transarctic Ski Expedition,

I cordially greet you, the participants in the first ever USSR-North Pole-Canada Transarctic skiing expedition.

You have based your bold plan on a good and necessary idea.

Your expedition is an example of great courage. It continues the glorious chronicle of Arctic polar research by the pioneers of our countries and other countries.

Your expedition will undoubtedly help to strengthen mutual understanding and good-neighborliness between the USSR and Canada and the interests of international cooperation—and not only in the opening up of the Arctic.

I wish you, the participants in the expedition, bon voyage and the attainment of your set goal.

M. Gorbachev.

Skiers' Message to Gorbachev

LD051652 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT
5 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow March 5 TASS—[Passage omitted] A message addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev has come in from the participants in the Transarctic ski expedition. The message says, in particular: "We want to show to the

peoples that the North Pole can become the pole of peace. We believe that history's first joint transpolar expedition will serve the development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Canada and the cause of peace on earth."

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV's Do Muoi Received by Slyunkov, Others

LD080107 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 7 Mar 88

[Text] Do Muoi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, paid a working visit to Moscow between 29 February and 7 March at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. He met with Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; and Kamentsev, chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers. They discussed issues of Soviet-Vietnamese relations. Favorable prospects for their development were noted, and principle aspects of economic cooperation were examined.

Cambodia's Chea Sim Greets Delegation

LD061417 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Phnom Penh March 6 TASS—Kampuchea welcomes the outcome of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington, during which the accords were reached, that are of tremendous importance to the cause of world peace and security, Chea Sim, member of the Political Bureau of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea (PRPK) Central Committee, Chairman of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), said here receiving the delegation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Soviet Union fund.

We now pin our hopes on the planned meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow, he said. The Kampuchean leader underscored the importance of the initiatives of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan, aimed at solving the Afghan problem by peaceful means. These initiatives were a forceful expression of the two countries' constructive foreign policies. The PRK strongly denounces the intrigues by those forces which are bent on thwarting the shaped-up tendency towards a dialogue and a political solution of regional conflicts, he said.

Despite the opposition by the reactionaries, the national reconciliation process in Kampuchea picks up steam. The two meetings between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk are a first step towards the solution of the Kampuchean problem. A peaceful settlement of the conflict is in the interests of the entire Kampuchean people.

The achievements by the PRK are inseparable from aid and support by the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Kampucheans feel profound gratitude to the Soviet people for effective assistance to the Republic's national revival, Chea Sim emphasized.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Greets Australia

PM071023 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent N.M. Stephen, governor general of Australia, a telegram conveying congratulations and good wishes on the country's national holiday—Australia Day. The telegram expresses the hope that Soviet-Australian relations will continue to develop positively for the good of the two countries' peoples and in the interests of consolidating peace and security in the Asia and Pacific regions and throughout the world.

In a reply telegram addressed to A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the governor general of Australia expressed thanks for the congratulations and conveyed warm wishes.

Briefs

Fuels Cooperation Expanded

The Vietnamese-Soviet Oil and Gas Union recently held a conference to discuss measures to develop oil and gas exploration and extraction for 1988. This year, the work load designed for the Soviet Union is twice that of 1987. The exploration for oil and gas at the southern continental shelf will be expanded extensively. According to set plans, the Soviet Union will drill 19 exploratory wells in 1988 and complete the construction of 4 permanent oil rigs by 1990. In 1988, the Soviet Union will extract 670,000 tonnes of crude oil, build a general operation base, and commission 10 industrial projects. [Summary] *[Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0500 GMT 4 Mar 88 BK]*

Near East & South Asia

Envoy Urges Security Council Action on Gulf War

'Further Aggravation' of War

LD071906 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 7 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 7 TASS—In connection with a further aggravation of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict the Soviet Union is taking urgent steps aimed at promoting the termination of the "war of the cities" as soon as possible, as well as achieving a political settlement of the conflict. Aleksandr Belonogov, permanent representative of the USSR and the U.N., presented a vigorous demarche to Dragoslav Pejic, Yugoslavia, chairman of

the U.N. Security Council. He stated that the Security Council should use all his potentialities for stopping the "war of the cities" as soon as possible. The Soviet representative pointed out that it was not an isolated episode, but a serious aggravation of the Iranian-Iraq conflict. Not military facilities, but densely populated residential areas, hospitals and schools are brought under artillery fire. Guiltless peaceful civilians are killed, material, and cultural values are destroyed. This long and bloody war can be further procrastinated.

Belonogov said that it was especially important to stop the "war of the cities" because its continuation could block the implementation of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council. The Soviet representative pointed out that the Security Council should emphatically demand that both sides immediately stop the "war of the cities".

A similar demarche was presented by the Soviet representative to the U.N. secretary general. He emphasized the need for stepping up efforts for implementing a peace-making mission of the secretary general aimed at putting into practice Resolution 598 of the Security Council.

Requests Security Council Meeting

LD080819 Moscow TASS in English 0815 GMT
8 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 8 TASS—At the U.N. Security Council's consultations on Monday, Aleksandr Belonogov, permanent representative of the Soviet Union at the United Nations, informed those present of the Soviet Government's request for an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council to consider the issue concerning the sharp escalation of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The Soviet representative emphasized that coming to the fore now is the humanitarian aspect of the issue in view of the delivery of strikes against civilian facilities, the strikes which result in a considerable loss of life, in the death of tens and hundreds of women, old men and children, and in the destruction of historical monuments, cultural establishments, schools and hospitals. He pointed out that in these conditions the U.N. Security Council should specially consider the question of putting a stop to the so-called war of the cities.

The Soviet Union's representative also stated that the escalation of the conflict put in jeopardy the implementation of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council. He suggested that the Security Council pass a resolution demanding that an end be urgently put to the "war of the cities," and raised the question of endorsement by the U.N. Security Council of the U.N. secretary-general's idea to appoint a special envoy who would be entrusted, in particular, with the task of supervision of the sides' compliance with such a resolution.

Tehran 'Momentum' on Gulf War Resolution Cited

PM081301 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 88
Second Edition p 7

[Pavel Demchenko "Viewpoint" article: "Time to End the War"]

[Text] There has been a new eruption on the Iran-Iraq front. The sides are launching missile strikes of unprecedented power against each other's capitals, carrying out bombing raids, and shelling many population centers. Heavy casualties have been reported among the population. The missile strikes against Tehran, which is located approximately 600 km from the front, will continue until the Iranian artillery stops shelling Iraqi towns, the Iraqi High Command stated.

In short, after a certain lull the "endless" war has again given notice of its existence with another list of dead and wounded and another outburst of cruelty. This has happened at a time when certain circles had started thinking that the conflict was finally nearing its end and the long-awaited peace was beckoning somewhere at the end of the tunnel.

Alas, it seems that these opinions are premature. Yet we were so hoping that they would be accurate: The Iranian and Iraqi peoples have paid too high a price for their pointless bloodshed. The total number of killed and wounded, according to foreign observer assessments, is over 1.2 million. The sides' direct material losses run into many tens of billions of dollars. Add to this the losses from reduced production, shipwrecks, the disruption of shipping lanes in the Persian Gulf, and so forth. Moreover, is it really possible to measure in monetary terms all the military operations' tragic consequences? Or even just the disruption to the normal lives of two peoples set back in their development, or the feverish atmosphere in which neighboring countries located near the warring parties must live?

The new flare-up will inevitably increase the animosity and cruelty still further and make diplomatic steps more difficult. Yet there were grounds for optimism. Thanks to the efforts of the UN secretary general last year, the "war of the cities", as the foreign press calls the strikes against population centers, was stopped. The Security Council resolution adopted in July afforded Baghdad and Tehran an honorable possibility of reaching a ceasefire. All the more so as events showed that neither side was capable of winning. Iranian forces are more numerous, while the Iraqis have more equipment, particularly aircraft.

The battlefield stalemate that has already lasted several years would seem to suggest that the only way of breaking the deadlock is through politics. Furthermore, a number of international organizations are prepared to act as go-between. But things did not get moving. Iraq agreed to the Security Council resolution, Iran's reply

was vague: Without rejecting the resolution outright, it advanced a number of conditions, one of which was that its opponent be declared the aggressor.

If these conditions were accepted, would peace prevail? I think that it is wrong to phrase the question like that. Each resolution and each decision is a link in the chain of compromises and long talks and consultations. Any change will entail a whole train of consequences. But even this is not the point. It must be borne in mind that this is a clash between two regional rivals in the Persian Gulf. Moreover, analysts believe that Iran's intransigence can to a considerable extent be explained by the features of the domestic situation in the country, whereby an external threat is needed to cover up its economic and social mess. Experts have recently appeared who believe that the movement toward an honorable exit from the war is gaining more and more momentum in Tehran. Hence the signs of definite optimism.

However, facts are facts—the war continues and the Security Council resolution has not yet been fulfilled. UN circles are currently discussing the question of the next step: the declaration of an arms embargo.

I would like to make one other point. When it is a question of the Iran-Iraq war, the situation in the Persian Gulf, or in other conflict regions, the Western press is accustomed to viewing all events in the light of the confrontation between the United States and the USSR. But now, one would like to think, different times are upon us. The international climate is changing, albeit with difficulty. Perhaps it is also time to approach regional conflicts from a standpoint of realism and new thinking. The facts are literally crying out that in our era military force is unable to resolve local conflicts, be they in Southern Africa, Central America, or here in the Near East. How much more productive it would be to replace confrontation by cooperation and start acting in concert. Then it would be easier to come to the end of the bloody Iran-Iraq war, which has brought people so much pain and suffering, and the international arena so many complications.

'Provocative Acts' at Iranian Missions Examined
NC081202 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1800 GMT
7 Mar 88

[Station commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: As we previously reported, on 6 March the charge d'affaires ad interim of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Soviet Union was summoned to the foreign ministry in Moscow following harsh acts against Soviet missions in Tehran and Esfahan. Our commentator writes:

Recently certain elements carried out provocative acts against the Soviet embassy in Tehran and the general consulate of the Soviet Union in Esfahan. Let us examine what led to this hooliganism. The incidents in these cities can be described only as hooliganism. Why did (an enraged crowd) stone the Soviet missions? These are automatic, direct reactions to reports in the Iranian press involving efforts to implicate the Soviet Union in missile attacks on Tehran. During the meeting with the Iranian charge d'affaires ad interim in Moscow, Soviet foreign ministry leaders completely rejected these concoctions. These rumors do not conform to reality and are (?outright lies).

However, the matter is not limited to this. The question is: Who resorted to such concoctions, and why? The current nature of relations between the Soviet Union and Iran does not create any grounds for this. Nor does Soviet policy in the Persian Gulf give any pretext to these persons. This policy is based on support for UN Security Council Resolution 598, which calls on both sides to halt the war. This resolution reflects the deep concern felt by the whole world over the fact that two neighboring countries are involved in a bloody war (?at the expense) of their children. This war has borne no fruit, for either Iran or Iraq, and its motives and nature were buried a long time ago under the rubble of cities and in the tombs of hundreds of thousands of victims.

How much longer can this fratricide continue? The Soviet Union, like the other [word indistinct] nations, wants this war to end as soon as possible, especially since it is going on near the Soviet Union's southern borders. We do not benefit in any way from the preservation of this hotbed, and we want to help extinguish its fire as soon as possible. Therefore, any step leading to a protraction of the war is not in our interest. It is precisely as a result of the current war of cities that the war between Iran and Iraq is [word indistinct].

Thus you, dear listeners, can realize how the Soviet Union's policy is exactly opposite that of countries whose distance from the Persian Gulf did not prevent them from warming their hands over the heat of the fire of a war between others and benefiting from this war. You see how U.S. imperialism has deployed between 30 and 40 warships in the Persian Gulf on various pretexts. All of the U.S.' actions are evidence that it is trying to expand its military presence in the Persian Gulf. Therefore, it is very clear that imperialist circles can use the continuation of the Iran-Iraq war to intervene further in the region's affairs.

Our commentator continues: It (?is necessary to issue this warning.) I want to refer to another aspect of this issue. Contacts took place recently between Soviet and Iranian delegations concerning economic cooperation. These contacts yielded good fruit. Would it be logical to sacrifice all this for baseless rumors about Moscow's involvement in missile attacks on Tehran? (?The engineers) of the disturbances at the Soviet missions in Iran

should have thought about whether their acts are in the interest of Iran. The Soviet Union attaches great value to its long-standing and traditional relations with neighboring countries in the Persian Gulf.

Our commentator concludes: I hope that Iran will also express suitable respect for relations with the Soviet Union.

Zia Rejects Delhi Visit To Discuss Afghan Issue
PM080927 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent N. Paklin report: "R. Gandhi's Initiative, Pakistan's Reaction, and India's Decision"]

[Text] Delhi—Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi, using the "hotline," invited Pakistani President Ziaul Haq to pay a short working visit to the Indian capital in order to exchange opinions on the development of the situation surrounding Afghanistan. It is reported here that the date of the visit will be announced after mutual consultations.

At the same time G.K. Arora, the Indian government leader's special representative, returned to Delhi from Kabul after conveying R. Gandhi's personal message to Afghan President Najibullah and holding talks with the Afghan leaders. He brought assurances from the Afghan president in Kabul that his government is "keeping the door open for opposition leaders to enter the government."

As for the position of India itself, the influential HINDUSTAN TIMES newspaper defined it as follows: "India would like the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan as soon as possible. It is interested in the success of the coming talks in Geneva and hopes that peace and stability will be established in Afghanistan and that a government which is representative of the Afghan people will be set up without interference from the outside."

Last Thursday Michael Armacost, U.S. under secretary of state for political affairs, visited Delhi. Before this, he was in Islamabad, where he held talks for 2 days with Pakistan's leaders. As the INDIAN EXPRESS reports, during these talks "Pakistan continued to insist on the creation of a transitional government in Kabul, without which, it claims, the Afghan refugees will not return to their country." The newspaper expresses the hope that during the talks, the Pakistani Government will be persuaded to "change its hard line." Commenting on the Pakistani position, the Indian newspaper notes that Islamabad does not want to permit an end to U.S. aid to the Afghan antigovernment forces, much of which ends up in Pakistan itself.

In Delhi M. Armacost met with R. Gandhi and also had a meeting with the Indian Minister of State for External Affairs, Natwar Singh, who is personally taking part in the Indian Government's intermediary actions.

Latest News [subhead]

Saying that he was "busy," Pakistani President Ziaul Haq refused Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi's invitation to pay a short working visit to the Indian capital for an exchange of views on an Afghan settlement.

Ziaul Haq, in turn, invited the Indian prime minister or "any of his representatives" to Islamabad. The Indian Government's reaction was quick to arrive: It was officially announced here that K.P.S. Menon, Indian External Affairs secretary, will fly to Pakistan Tuesday. He will meet the most prominent Pakistani leaders and will discuss the development of the situation in Afghanistan.

Ziaul Haq's refusal to come to Delhi is assessed in Indian political circles as opposition to India's attempts to play an active mediating role in settling the Afghan crisis, in which it is not directly involved. The influential Indian newspaper HINDUSTAN TIMES recalls that India took on this role at the request of the Soviet Union and the United States with the aim of narrowing the gap between the positions of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Delhi has noted the words of Pakistan's prime minister, who stated: "Pakistan has nothing to talk about with India." This statement is assessed as a reflection of Islamabad's "unconstructive position" in its demand to foist upon the Afghan people from the outside "a transitional government."

Paper Cites Najibullah Speech on Peace Efforts
PM081159 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Real Path to Peace; Speech by Afghan President"]

[Text] Kabul, 29 Feb—The statements by the Afghan and Soviet leaders of 8 February this year defined the means to settle the situation around Afghanistan. This was stressed by Afghan President Najibullah when he addressed a ceremony marking the recent death of Pash-tun leader Abdul Ghaffi Khan.

Expressing perplexity as regards Pakistan's present position, he indicated that until recently the main thrust of its demands was the unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. But now that, after the statements by the leaders of Afghanistan and the USSR, the question of withdrawal has finally been resolved, new conditions are being put forward, according to which a so-called "provisional government" must be formed before the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Yet both documents say most clearly that the withdrawal of Soviet troops is in no way connected with completing the efforts to form a coalition government in Afghanistan. Today, Najibullah indicated, I once again want to confirm that the business of creating a coalition government is the prerogative of the Afghan people alone.

Najibullah said further that Pakistan is attempting to ignore the present state power in Afghanistan, which has at its disposal almost half a million people in the armed forces and relies on the economic and financial system of the state, the power which respects religion and the people's traditions, under which the constitution was adopted and the president elected, and which more than 80 of the world's states have recognized. This position, which does not take into account objective conditions, is doomed to failure.

Over 5 and 1/2 years, the Afghan leader continued, Pakistan has conducted talks in Geneva, sending its foreign minister there. But the Geneva talks concern only the foreign aspects of the situation in Afghanistan. After they have been settled, resolving internal problems will be a simpler matter. Now Islamabad does not want to sign the agreement with its permanent partner in the talks—the legitimate government in Afghanistan—but states that it will sign it with representatives of some "third" or "transitional" government. The only real path to peace and prosperity in our country, Najibullah indicated, is a multiparty system, and equality of all political groups. Despite the opposition and artificially promoted plans of the opposing side, we hope that common sense will prevail.

Mentioning the mission of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, the speaker said that they came to Afghanistan at the request of the Afghan Government and helped it to defend the freedom and independence of the country's people, saved thousands of old men and children from death, and saved villages and entire cities from destruction. Our duty is to pass on the grateful memory of the sons of the Soviet Union from generation to generation of Afghans. The Soviet soldiers did not come to Afghanistan for war, and are returning home conscious of having fulfilled their duty, with heads held high, having given comprehensive assistance and support to our people. But some of them will never return to their mothers and wives, having sacrificed their lives in the name of our people's peace and happiness. The memory of these heroes will last forever.

The Afghan people are proud of their friendship with the Soviet people, Najibullah stressed. This friendship is our historical tradition and we will do everything so that nothing and no one will ever be able to destroy it. The Soviet troops are returning to the motherland, but their friendship remains and will expand and be strengthened in the future.

The settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, Najibullah stressed, would give powerful impetus to a peaceful solution of the existing regional and international problems. It is essential that everyone should feel their responsibility to history by making a worthy contribution to this settlement, the Afghan leader noted.

Najibullah Speaks on Education, Soviet Aid
LD051444 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT
5 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 5 TASS—The development of Afghanistan's economy and culture is impossible without perfecting the system of public education, President Najibullah of Afghanistan stated in the local Habibiya Lyceum on the occasion of the commencement of the new school year.

In the past ruling regimes were not interested in a system of education for the people, and the vast majority of Afghans were illiterate, he said. But even now there are numerous problems. The development of public education is impeded by the country's economic backwardness and the continuing war, Najibullah went on, but we strive to create conditions for all Afghan children to study.

The policy of national reconciliation has given a new impulse to the development of education, the president said. More than a hundred new schools appeared in the country during the past year. Today 145,000 children will go to school for the first time in their life while the total number of school pupils will reach about 800,000. Almost two thousand of them are children of refugees who have returned home. Today half a million people are attending literacy courses alone, the president said further.

The state pays much attention to families who have children of school age, the Afghan leader went on. In the new school year many pupils from low-income families will get free breakfasts, school uniforms and text books. Every year the state will spend 5,000 afghani from the state budget per each such family.

Najibullah noted the special importance of Soviet assistance to the development of education in Afghanistan. Thousands of Afghan children spent their holidays at young pioneer camps in the Soviet union. Many are studying at present in the USSR. "On behalf of the entire Afghan people I want to express profound gratitude to the Soviet people for this unselfish assistance", Najibullah stated.

Today the Afghan children are beginning the school year with a "peace class". And may the present school year become a year of peace for Afghan children, Najibullah stated in conclusion.

CPSU CC Greets Bangladesh Communist Party
BK061358 Moscow in Bengali to Bangladesh
1200 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Today is the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Bangladesh Communist Party. On this occasion the CPSU Central Committee has sent a message of greetings to Bangladesh communists recalling their struggle against imperialism and reaction, and in support of national liberation, democracy, and the progress of the Bangladeshi people.

The message said that the Soviet Union highly values the Bangladesh Communist Party's support for its efforts to restore peace and security in Asia and the world.

Gerasimov Interviewed on Shultz Mideast Plan
TA041701 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew
4 Mar 88 pp A1, 2

[Report by 'Oded Granot]

[Text] "No U.S. plan for the Middle East will succeed, nor will any peace be achieved in the region if an international conference is not convened." The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said this to MA'ARIV yesterday, in an initial Moscow reaction to the U.S. secretary of state's shuttle trips.

In a telephone conversation from his office in Moscow, spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed that "the Soviet Union still has numerous doubts about the chances for success of the Shultz initiative. Still, the spokesman admitted that no reports have yet been received in Moscow about Shultz' moves in the Middle East. According to Gerasimov, no U.S. move can succeed if an international conference is not convened. "This is the only way," he said.

MA'ARIV: Does the Soviet Union fear a "Pax Americana" in the region?

Gerasimov: "It should be a Middle East peace, not an American one."

MA'ARIV: What is the Soviet stance regarding a possible meeting between Shultz and Palestinian representatives?

Gerasimov: "If you are referring to authorized PLO representatives, this is a good time." He later added ironically: "This is interesting. The Americans are prepared to meet with the PLO in the Middle East, but are acting to close down the organization's office in New York."

MA'ARIV: Has a date been set for the Israeli diplomatic mission's visit to the USSR?

Gerasimov: "You are referring to the consular delegation. We do not treat it as a diplomatic delegation. Well, they have to receive visas and buy tickets."

MA'ARIV: And in the meantime?

Gerasimov: "In the meantime we sent you Alla Pugacheva [Soviet singer]. She is with you now, right?"

MA'ARIV: She also intends to appear in a rally protesting the situation in the territories.

Gerasimov: "Is this true? I thought that foreigners are not allowed to participate in demonstrations in Israel."

MA'ARIV: Pop singers can...

Gerasimov: "All right then."

Egyptian, Soviet Journalists Hold Roundtable
LD031526 Moscow TASS in English 1425 GMT
3 Mar 88

[Text] Cairo March 3 TASS—A round-table meeting of Egyptian and Soviet journalists on the subject "The Impact of the Soviet-U.S. Dialogue at Summit Level on International Relations" took place here on Wednesday.

It was attended by prominent Egyptian publicists, by representatives of a number of leading newspapers and magazines of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and by Soviet media correspondents accredited in the Egyptian capital.

They pointed out the historic significance of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington and of the treaty signed there on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The participants in the round-table meeting emphasized that it was of importance to carry on the real nuclear disarmament process which had been started, to secure new specific steps along the way to the elimination of the nuclear threat and to the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security.

Briefs

Housing Aid for Afghans

The Soviet Union is helping Afghanistan with engineering know-how in erecting the Bibi Mahru housing development in Kabul. As Kabul is situated in an earthquake zone, Soviet experts are also assisting in making geological and tectonic studies and compiling a seismic map of the area so that multistoried buildings can be erected. [Summary] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Mar 88 LD]

East Europe

Polish 'Paradox': Poor State, Rich Citizens
PM071005 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 88
Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov article: "Millionaires. Polish Press Discusses a Serious Social Problem"]

[Text] Warsaw—"We know you never kill a hen which lays golden eggs, but what should you do to ensure that the bird cannot peck and that a pleasant smell comes out of the henhouse?" This question was asked by the popular Warsaw weekly POLITYKA. What is it talking about?

It is talking about private enterprise and its consequences. It is a subject which has drawn the attention of journalists, politicians, and sociologists in recent years

and which naturally cannot fail to concern the millions of people usually described as ordinary. "The Rich and the Poor" is the title of the article from which the above quotation comes. The article suggests that thought be given to the theories contained in it and also in many other Polish press publications and a number of television broadcasts and that people ponder the question of why, despite the appreciable changes in economic and sociopolitical life characteristic of the present stage in the development of socialism and designed to protect the principle of social justice, this is becoming an increasingly serious problem.

In general terms the problem looks like this. Skiing holidays in the Alps, summers spent on the Cote d'Azur, a BMW, Gucci jewelry, your child in a French kindergarten or the American school in Warsaw, food from West Berlin... There are people who live like this in the Poland of the eighties. There are not so many of them at present but their numbers are increasing. You cannot fail to see them. The paradox of recent years is that the state is growing poorer while its citizens, or at least those in certain professions, are becoming richer.

Yes, the rich stand out. The weekly believes those who are growing poorer—by today's standards, of course—and who live from one wage packet to another or from one pension to the next stand out all the more sharply against this background. While no one is actually starving or homeless, there are an increasing number of people who have nice apartments and drive around in their own small cars. At present they are satisfied with the minimum of basic comforts. But what they are lacking, POLITYKA believes, is peace of mind: They are afraid their lives will deteriorate rather than improve and they will not be able to afford a new car or television set. They are losing their sense of social security and are generally feeling worse. This is because they measure their own situation against the standard of living of people richer than themselves. They have stirred up needs which they themselves are not in a position to satisfy.

So perhaps these people have become careless in their attitude to work and developed extravagant tastes? Certainly not! They are working harder than ever before and earning better money, but have found themselves lower down the social ladder of prosperity than they have ever been before, because this ladder has become longer. More rungs have appeared at the top end. Hence the reason many people who survived the years of crisis are now feeling they have been wronged.

Their arguments often appear in the press and on television... We work as hard as we can, do not squander our money, do not spend it all on drink, and try to clothe our children a little better. But then our child goes to school and meets another child the same age who turns out to have a computer at home, a video system, and various other interesting things from the hard currency store—even bananas for breakfast. But we, even if we were

Solomons, could not give our child all this. No, we are not primitive advocates of egalitarianism. We do appreciate that incomes must vary because everyone has different levels of intelligence and capability. This difference should spur people to show initiative, enterprise, and industriousness. All this is true, but it is very distressing when your child comes home from school and tells you how some of the boys and girls only play with others "in their own circle" because they have things which others do not. In short, there are children and, consequently, parents who are different.

Of course, there has always been someone envying someone else. But the reason for pride or envy used to be the profession of one's parents: Some were engineers, others were actors, and others were schoolteachers. Now, however, a person's possessions are valued most of all. The hierarchy of prestige has changed. Previously, property acquired by private means was not respected but seen as something suspect and in bad taste.

This is not so now. It must be frankly said that the private traders themselves are also different. They are no longer poorly educated simpletons working hard in their rather tatty workshops. There is now a completely new class of businessman (there is no other word for them!) who is educated, has a knowledge of languages and of the world, and is never parted from his passport and airline ticket. These businessmen run solid enterprises manufacturing new equipment very much needed by the country, trade in computers rather than pies, export goods abroad, have dealings with foreign partners and meetings with ministers. They have nothing of which to be ashamed. They are the object of envy and reverence and a model of conduct for others.

There are more and more people making money and elevating this occupation to the rank of a virtue. So now it is almost as if we have two societies existing alongside each other. There are those who live on their earnings in zlotys and those who have dollars or make a business out of them.

The society of businessmen is multilayered. It stretches from small traders to the millionaires who tower over everyone. It is not hard to imagine how an ordinary person living on his wages alongside swanky big noises must feel. People here believe, however, that it is the intelligentsia who have lost most of all from the phenomenon of the reviving world of the rich. In addition to the fact that it is losing its previous social function as a model, it is primarily from the intelligentsia that the business world finds new recruits. Until quite recently the most able students tried to stay on as postgraduates at their higher educational establishment. Now, however, they look for work which pays in dollars or dream of setting up their own business.

The results of a sociological survey published by the press are interesting in this respect. A total of 39 percent of the respondents said that if they had the opportunity

they would start up their own "concern." With regard to Warsaw students, for example, only one-fourth of them expressed a desire to work in a state enterprise or organization. As the newspapers point out, a psychological conflict is coming to a head whose consequences may be serious. On the one hand, it gives impetus to trends based on wage-leveling, and this, as you well know, is a force running counter to economic reform. It is easy to revive the terror of pragmatic maximalism in the struggle against the terror of money. On the other hand, people may come to believe that anything goes in the race for riches, that they are no longer bound by any norms and principles, and that if there really is anything of value in the world it must be money.

It must be said that the Polish economy differs considerably from the Soviet economy by virtue of its structural diversity. The main distinguishing feature is its developed private enterprise: in agriculture, and now particularly in industry. "Economic reform," it was stated in the PZPR Central Committee Politburo report to the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, "is to be based on the coexistence of different types and forms of ownership in Polish conditions... We must support the Democratic Party's proposal that the Polish Constitution defines the place of the private sector in the national economy. We believe private enterprises should be guaranteed equal access, dictated by considerations of efficiency, to raw materials, semimanufactures, and bank credits and also that the private sector should be placed on an equal footing with the public sector regarding tax and participation in the development of the socioeconomic infrastructure."

What is to be done in this situation, which has been engendered by life, its liberalization, and the new directions designed to revive the economy and enrich the market with goods and services? Until quite recently, for the sake of society's mental hygiene, so to speak, and the social protection of its poorer strata, it was sufficient to turn the screws on the rich, as they say. This possibly appeased the public for some time. But then, of course, it turned out that this item or that disappeared from the market and the state was unfortunately unable to fill the gap. It became clear that the poor were certainly not becoming any richer as a result of these administrative measures in the "old style."

Even this is not the complete picture, however. Even an elementary analysis conducted by the Polish press shows that a worker employed in a private enterprise feels he is not doing too badly for himself at all, as he is earning more than he used to when he worked in a state enterprise. It also shows that, because of its defective mechanism, sluggishness, and bureaucratic way of functioning, the inefficiently organized national economy ultimately impinges on the working man by preventing him from revealing his creative abilities and objectively helps others grow rich.

People here believe that in the new situation, which does not conform with the old dogmatic patterns, it is extremely important to effect radical transformations in the organization of the national economy and the democratization of sociopolitical life which will really make it possible to combine the interests of the working people and the state. Measures must be taken to ensure that citizens can earn good wages at state enterprises, remunerated according to their work, their personal contribution to production, and their talent, knowledge, and skill. The second stage of economic reform in Poland is called upon to make enterprises fully independent. The labor collectives themselves will determine their own development and what form their initiative is to take, endeavor to ensure that their standard of living does not fall but, on the contrary, improves, and decide social and consumer issues. The reform offers opportunities to millions of people rather than hundreds or thousands. The attraction of private enterprise will undoubtedly lose the halo of its own exclusivity.

At the moment, however, this halo is showing no sign of fading, the climate favors the rich, the wind is behind them... The people with bulging purses have reached the point where they now have their own ideologists at their disposal as well as their own dentists, lawyers, and architects. Economic clout, as the newspapers stress, can develop into political clout, which, incidentally, finds it convenient to operate under the flag of democratizing every aspect of social life.

The West has recently begun to make a considerable fuss about the upheavals connected with the organization of an economic society in Warsaw. Based on economic capital, it intends to focus its efforts on evolutionary changes in Polish political relations. The Polish Government's press spokesman felt it necessary to rebuff these attempts, making it clear that the private sector of the economy cannot count on becoming the material base of any political opposition. The authorities, he said, favor the organization and development of private firms, including the investment of foreign capital, but only as economic units called upon to boost the market with goods in short supply. Otherwise, people fostering ambitions of becoming involved in political activity could cut the ground from beneath them.

This would seem to be a perfectly clear warning for those who, feeling a sense of euphoria from the liberalization of state economic policy, are taking hold of the outstretched finger and are ready to bite it off. For example, theoreticians belonging to the official Krakow industrial society, which also incorporates people from private firms, are now loudly proclaiming a program to reprivatize the Polish economy, and the notorious A. Drawicz wrote maliciously in the Catholic TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY "To success in our hopeless task!"—meaning the second stage of the Polish reform and the Soviet restructuring program.

The Polish economy is distinguished by its many sectors. When we talk about private enterprise, Polish journalists and economists stress, we are not talking about family peasant farms or artisan workshops and we certainly do not mean the labor cooperatives which were wrongly pushed to the sidelines in the past. The object of concern is the petty capitalist sector, which, according to POLITYKA, is being revived in Poland in the form of private enterprises and firms set up in Poland by Poles living abroad, that is, with the investment of foreign capital. These "small" firms, however, sometimes employ anything from 500 to 850 people and each of these firms annually produces goods and services to the value of up to Z3 billion...

This is POLITYKA's viewpoint: It would be premature to regard this sector as unnecessary or dangerous. You cannot skip stages of economic development with impunity. In the present conditions a rejection of petty capitalist enterprises would mean a drop in the national income and a deterioration in the general standard of living. The only precondition for rejecting these enterprises could be the achievement by the state and public sector of a level of labor productivity which would make the continuation of petty bourgeois ownership economically anachronistic. At the moment, the weekly believes, this prospect is very remote. At the current stage the private sector as a whole provides approximately 20 percent of the national income. This is quite a considerable proportion. There are almost 700,000 artisans alone and their annual financial turnover now exceeds Z770 billion. Some 3 million people live on this sector's income. Firms set up in Poland by Poles living abroad have developed on a large scale—there are now more than 700 of them. These firms employ more than 61,000 workers and specialists and have an annual output of almost Z155 billion. These firms pay the state more than Z23.5 billion each year in taxes alone.

At present, people believe here, it would not be economic to kill the hen which lays the golden eggs. But what are we supposed to do if unpleasant smells sometimes emanate from the henhouse?

Demichev, Sejm Commission Exchange Views
LD042115 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1900 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Comrade Demichev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium first deputy chairman, today met with the delegation of the Economic Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission of the Sejm of the Polish Peoples Republic headed by its chairman Kaczmarek in the Kremlin today. An exchange of views took place regarding the most rational utilization of economic and financial levers to improve the efficiency of production and acceleration of scientific and technological progress.

Delegation Visits Georgia

LD052247 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] A Sejm Economic Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission delegation led by its chairman, Deputy Jan Kaczmarek, has been visiting the Soviet Union. It was received by Petr Demichev, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Land of the Soviets, and spoke with the Nationalities Council Planning and Budget Commission chairman of the Nationalities Council of the Supreme Soviet of the Land of the Soviets. The delegation also visited Georgia, where it acquainted itself with solutions to problems connected with restructuring and democratization of public life.

PZPR's Orzechowski Interviewed on Asian Tour
LD062209 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT
6 Mar 88

[Text] Kuala Lumpur March 6 TASS—Talks with leaders of several Asian countries prove convincingly that Asian states understand well the international importance of the Soviet-American treaty on elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and regard it a historic step along the road of disarmament, which creates more favourable conditions for settling both global and regional problems, including those in Asia, said Marian Orzechowski, foreign minister of the Polish Republic in an interview with Tass correspondent Stanislav Bychkov. The minister completed an official visit to Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur was the last stop on his trip during which he had also visited new Delhi and Bangkok.

"It is heartening to see," the minister pointed out, "how the new international political thinking initiated by the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, is breaking ground." "The positive response, on the whole, in Asia to the initiatives contained in the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Vladivostok and the interview to the Indonesian newspaper "MERDEKA", and to changes which are characteristic of a search for ways of settling the Afghan and Kampuchean problems, is especially important now that we are approaching the threshold of the new century," said the Polish statesman. The minister favoured such a situation under which the region would become an arena of peaceful cooperation between states and peoples in the conditions of growing influence of Asian and Pacific countries on the life of the world. Poland, as well as other socialist countries, hails for instance ASEAN's efforts aimed at turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, as well as into a nuclear-free zone.

The visit to the three Asian countries, noted the head of the Polish Foreign Office, was very fruitful not only from the point of view of finding out community of positions on international issues. It was also useful for the further development of bilateral relations between Poland and

India, Thailand and Malaysia. Understandings were reached on strengthening relations in the form of exchanging visits by the heads of government, parliamentary and other delegations. The sides examined possibilities for expanding trade and economic cooperation and strengthening contacts in science and culture. "I'm sure that the results of talks and meetings will make a substantial contribution to the cause of improving relations between Poland and Asian countries," said Marian Orzechowski in conclusion.

Komsomol, Polish Youth Agree on Cooperation
*LD042325 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1350 GMT 4 Mar 88*

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Mar (TASS)—The prospects for cooperation in the next 2 years of the youth generation of the USSR and People's Poland are defined by two documents signed today in Warsaw by V.I. Mironenko, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, who heads a delegation of the Leninist Komsomol that is here on an official visit, and by leaders of the Socialist Unions of Young People and Students of the Polish People's Republic [PPR].

The protocol on cooperation between the Komsomol and the Socialist Unions of Young People and Students of the PPR, formed into a commission on joint international contacts, provides in 1988-89 for a wide-ranging complex of joint ventures to mobilize young men and women to take an active part in the processes of transformations currently underway in the USSR and the PPR. Major attention will focus on expanding the exchange of experience of ideological education work with young people, the formation of a socialist way of life, and an active civic standpoint. With the aim of deepening mutual understanding and the further rapprochement of the youth generation of the two countries, the document plans for improvement in the exchange of information on the life and problems of Soviet and Polish youth and for broadening knowledge of the history of bilateral relations and the contemporary lives of the peoples of the two countries.

A protocol was also signed on cooperation between the Komsomol and the Socialist Unions of Young People and Students of the PPR to implement the program for participation by fraternal unions of young people from the socialist countries in realizing the long-term "community" [sodruzhestvo] programs of the CEMA covering science, technology, and economics.

Speaking at a news conference in Warsaw, V.I. Mironenko, head of the Komsomol delegation, stressed that the documents signed differ substantially from agreements previously concluded in this sphere. They clearly delimit tasks in the sphere of cooperation between central and grass roots bodies and stress the development of direct links at the local level and the decentralization of youth exchanges. Jerzy Szmajdzinski, head of the main board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, on behalf

of the Socialist Unions of Young People and Students of the PPR, gave a high appraisal of the agreements signed, noting that they are designed to serve efficiently direct cooperation between primary youth organizations, working collectives, oblasts and voivodships, and the expansion of youth exchanges.

Hungarian Trade Union Leader on Joint Sessions
PM080853 Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Feb 88 p 3

[Interview with Sandor Gaspar, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and National Trade Union Council chairman, by TRUD correspondent Ye. Piskunov: "In Search of New Approaches"; date not given; first paragraph is TRUD introduction]

[Text] We have already reported that joint sessions of the AUCCTU and the Hungarian National Trade Union Council Secretariats were held for several days in Moscow. Our correspondent Ye. Piskunov met with Sandor Gaspar, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and National Trade Union Council chairman, and asked him to comment on the work of the joint sessions.

[Gaspar] Our meeting (like all the others, moreover) was marked by the atmosphere of sincerity, trust, and mutual understanding, which has always characterized relations between our countries.

We exchanged opinions on questions of the place and role of USSR and Hungarian trade unions at the contemporary stage of socialist building. We examined a number of specific questions of our trade unions' practical activity. These included their involvement in the development of socialist self-management in both countries, the improvement of the wages system and social security for working people, and the formation of policy in the sphere of employment and price formation.

Moreover, many questions were characterized by the fundamentally new phenomena in the life of society which will determine our work in the future. I want to dwell in more detail on ideas and avenues which seemed not merely bold but quite inconceivable in Hungary 10-15 years ago.

I refer, for instance, to the emerging need under conditions of economic accountability [khozaschet] to eliminate unprofitable enterprises. Over many years many people have grown used to thinking in an unoriginal fashion. They do not want any dialectic discussion of this problem. They say that if we begin to shut down plants, unemployment will necessarily result. The phenomenon is fundamentally at variance with socialism.

The position of the trade unions—as emerged in the course of our meeting, both Hungarian and Soviet trade unions—is based on the fact that a socialist society can provide with work anyone who is able and willing to work. This is one of the most essential advantages of our

system. In the course of eliminating unprofitable enterprises, it is mainly a question of rationally regrouping the work force. Of course, depriving a large number of people of the work to which they are accustomed is none too pleasant a task. This is inevitably accompanied by complex problems and trouble. But on the other hand, genuine restructuring in all spheres of our society demands qualitatively new approaches from the trade unions. It also demands high responsibility and determination.

The cornerstone of our socialist society has been, I repeat, and remains the compulsory observance of a basic human right—the right to work. Not bogus work, not work at an unprofitable enterprise, but work in areas where society needs a worker's skill and knowledge.

The discussion of this question with Soviet comrades was creative. At times we expressed different assessments and a different understanding of how to resolve the problem. Thus, the AUCCTU comrades, while talking about finding new jobs for workers, put the main stress on the possibility of employing people in related sectors by introducing multishift working. Say the plant was working on one shift, we will introduce, where necessary, a second and third shift to make better use of the equipment and thus provide employment for twice as many workers. At the same time we think the time itself dictates the need not only for finding people new jobs but also for qualitative cadre retraining geared to the fundamentally new industrial sectors which scientific and technical progress is producing every year: electronics, robots, and biotechnology. For example, if there are 500,000 steam engine stokers, while the country needs electric train drivers—then the stokers must be immediately retrained.

Another topical subject at our meeting was the attitude of trade unions to the question of price reform.

The simplistic idea was current for many years that constant steady price reduction must be ensured under socialism. We have practically forgotten about the law of cost, arbitrarily raising and lowering prices, regarding wages not as a means of measuring the quantity and quality of the labor produced but engaging only in redistributing them.

I am now talking about Hungary but this also applies to other socialist countries: Until now we have effectively regulated wages like other funds—funds for the reconstruction and development of production, social insurance, and cultural and consumer funds.

Today one of the main tasks is not merely to raise or lower prices ad hoc, proceeding on the basis of a commodity shortage or market saturation. The main thing is to balance the law of cost. Wages must be given back the incentive function which measures and recognizes the value of the work executed and covers running expenses.

The situation must be eliminated whereby the work of the technical intelligentsia, human scientists, or skilled workers is not remunerated according to the assets they have created.

All these thoughts have been reflected in the latest CPSU decisions. In the course of the joint session of the two trade union secretariats we tried to define the place of our trade unions in the implementation of this large-scale program.

We came to the conclusion that formalism must above all be excluded from our practical work. Trade unions in socialist countries are not merely decorations on the facade of the state edifice but occupy an important place in sociopolitical life. They must constantly act on the basis of working people's interests and actively express them. That is, today it is a question of—and this is clearly determined by CPSU and MSZMP decisions—restoring Leninist ideals and principles in the economy and in the sphere of production relations.

There may be disputes and discussions in our public life. Every creative mind must release its constructive reasoning power. The new will conquer the old through disputes and struggle.

At the beginning of our century the struggle for social justice was waged on the barricades. Today people's minds form the battlefield. In my opinion, increasing everyone's responsibility for society by making use of effective slogans, enhancing the creative force of the masses, and channeling their energy into concrete actions are the basis for the transition to the new thinking and for shaping a new image of socialism.

Talyzin Receives Hungarian Minister Csehak
LD042131 Moscow International Service in Hungarian
1730 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Nikolay Talyzin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, first USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development chairman, [title as heard] has met with Judit Csehak, MSZMP Politburo member and Hungarian social affairs and health minister, who is in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Health Ministry. They held a wide-ranging exchange of views about the two countries' health and social development issues. The sides briefed one another about the ways they are dealing with the resolution of these problems under the new conditions of the transformation of the economic mechanism. They spoke with satisfaction about the consistent development of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in medical science and health affairs.

Yevgeniy Chazov, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR health minister, and Sandor Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador in Moscow, also took part in the meeting, which took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

Soviet-Hungarian Trade Protocol Signed

*PM081119 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 88
Second Edition p4*

[TASS report: "Protocol Signed"]

[Text] A protocol on Soviet-Hungarian trade in 1988 was signed in Moscow 27 February. The document outlines ways to further expand economic collaboration between the two fraternal countries.

The Soviet Union will supply Hungary with modern types of metalworking and forging and pressing equipment, road-building equipment, tractors, grain harvesting combines, and freight and passenger vehicles. In turn, Hungary will supply our country with "Ikarus" buses, equipment for communications enterprises and the food industry, computer equipment, instruments, and agricultural machinery.

The document also provides for deliveries of commodities and services in connection with implementing new forms of cooperation within the framework of joint enterprises, direct production links, and the Integrated Program for Scientific and Technical Progress in CEMA Countries through 2000.

Hungarian Nationality, Language 'Protection'

*LD081235 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1100 GMT 8 Mar 88*

[Text] The daily KARPATI IGAZ SZO of Carpatho-Ukraine has begun to refer to villages inhabited mainly by Hungarians by their Hungarian names. The list of placenames has been collated at the Hungarian faculty of Uzhgorod University. This represents another step in the protection of the language of the Hungarian nationality of Carpatho-Ukraine following the establishment of a center for Hungarian studies at Uzhgorod University. At the same time, the number of Hungarian language and literature lessons has been raised in Hungarian-language schools.

Solomentsev, Kapitonov Receive BCP Official

*LD042330 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 4 Mar 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] A delegation led by Comrade Papazov, chairman of the BCP Central Control and Auditing Commission and of the National Committee of Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, is taking part in the events devoted to the 110th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman yoke and the 30th anniversary of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Society.

In conversations between Comrades Solomentsev and Kapitonov and Comrade Papazov there was an exchange of views on questions of strengthening the interaction of the control and auditing bodies of the CPSU and the BCP [passage omitted]

Vedernikov Attends Meeting for Bulgarian Jubilee

*PM041437 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Time-Tested Friendship"]

[Excerpts] The fraternal Bulgarian people are celebrating a portentous anniversary—the 110th anniversary of their state's liberation from the Ottoman yoke. Soviet people are widely celebrating the portentous date together with the fraternal country's working people. A ceremonial meeting held in Moscow 3 March was devoted to this event. [passage omitted]

G.G. Vedernikov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations participated in the meeting. [passage omitted]

Murakhovskiy Meets Bulgarian Agro-Industry Chief

*LD042323 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 4 Mar 88*

[Text] Comrade Murakhovskiy today received Comrade Dobrev, chairman of the Bulgarian Central Council of the National Agro-Industrial Union. An exchange of information was held on the progress of restructuring in the sphere of agro-industrial production, and certain questions of cooperation between the USSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial complex and the National Agro-Industrial Union were discussed.

Jakes Greets Participants in Sokolovo Rally

*LD061522 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1100 GMT 6 Mar 88*

[Text] The Soviet Union—Participants at a rally in the village of Sokolovo have been commemorating the coming 45th anniversary of the legendary Battle of Sokolovo. In March 1943 the first Czechoslovak Independent Field Battalion, commanded by Ludvik Svoboda, had its first engagement with the Nazis there.

Jindrich Rehorek, Czechoslovak ambassador to the Soviet Union, conveyed comradely greetings to the working people of Sokolovo from Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary. He also wished the citizens of Sokolovo great success with restructuring and in further strengthening fraternal friendship between the two countries' peoples.

Shcherbitskiy Receives CSSR Envoy Rehorek
LD041058 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian
0615 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee, yesterday received Rehorek, Czechoslovak ambassador in the USSR, at the latter's request.

They noted during the conversation that the talks between Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and other Soviet leaders and Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, in January open favorable opportunities for expanding and deepening all-around cooperation between the USSR and Czechoslovakia in the conditions of the changes taking place in both countries.

Having dwelt on the work of Communists and all working people of Czechoslovakia to implement the strategic [word indistinct] of the 14th CPCZ Congress and to accelerate the country's economic and social development, Rehorek stressed the importance of the CPCZ December Plenum, which adopted wide scale decisions on complex restructuring of the economic mechanism and deepening socialist democracy.

Comrade Shcherbitskiy briefed the guest on the main trends in the CPUK's work on implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress concerning the intensification of the economy and the renewal of all aspects of public life. He acquainted him with the experience gained by party committees in organizational and ideological work during the period of deepening restructuring and preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

They also paid attention to the participation of enterprises, scientific establishments, and republic organizations in establishing new forms of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with Czechoslovak partners.

Also taking part in the talk, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, were Merkulov, a department head of the CPUK Central Committee, and Kovac, Czechoslovakia's consul-general in Kiev.

Ceausescu Calls for Improved Food Production
PM061823 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
21 Feb 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Specific Measures Planned"]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Feb—An expanded plenum of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management has taken place here. Its participants discussed the results of the sector's work last year and planned measures for the successful implementation of the current year's plan.

The report on the plan to develop agriculture and the food industry in 1988 and the documents adopted by the plenum outline specific measures to improve the work of the collective management organs of state farms, cooperatives, and other agricultural enterprises and financial and economic activity.

In his speech N. Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and Romanian president, noted the significant growth of agricultural and food output last year: Almost 31 million tonnes of grain were harvested. But the results achieved are not up to the plan level. This year better results should be achieved so that agricultural output exceeds the quantitative and qualitative indicators of all previous years. It is necessary to pay particular attention to developing livestock raising, he stressed. A recount of livestock has shown, he said, that there are districts where there has not only been no increase in meat production but where there has been a significant drop in livestock numbers compared to last year. He also called for decisive measures to increase milk and egg production, increased exactingness, order and discipline, and the elimination of negative phenomena in agriculture.

West Europe

FRG's Genscher Views Bilateral Relations
LD051417 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT
5 Mar 88

[Text] Bonn March 5 TASS—Soviet-West German relations are of pivotal importance not only for the FRG and the USSR but also for all Europe, said West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. In an interview published today in the newspaper "BONNER RUNDSCHAU", he expressed confidence in the further progressive development of these relations. This concerns both economic, scientific and technical cooperation as well as a contribution which the two states can make to the development of East-West contacts in the sphere of disarmament, added the minister.

Soviet-West German relations, he went on to say, have outstanding importance for the development of the situation in Europe. The history, geographic location and role of the two states, as well as vital interests of West German citizens and Soviet people impose on them great responsibility for preventing wars from breaking out in Europe forever. A solution of this task needs powerful efforts on both sides and new ideas for creating a European home" so as to make the development in the direction of ensuring peace irreversible.

To achieve this, the foreign minister pointed out, it is necessary to abandon outdated ideas about each other, the desire for superiority and thinking in the spirit of military scenarios. The policy of reforms conducted by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which is perceived by West Germans

seriously and whose success will be also to the benefit of relations between the West and the East, is an important contribution to ensuring better future for Europe, the minister pointed out.

Tolstykh Receives FRG Scientific Official
LD042229 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT
4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—Today Boris Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received Mr Ziller, state secretary of the Federal Ministry for Scientific Research and Technologies of the FRG.

Matters aimed at further widening scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG were discussed.

French Defense Minister Cited on INF Treaty
PM041659 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "A. Giraud Interview"]

[Text] Paris, 26 Feb—Only the Soviet Union and the United States must engage in the reduction of nuclear arsenals. This is the opinion of French Defense Minister A. Giraud, voiced in an interview with the weekly **PARIS MATCH**.

Although the head of France's military department called the course of nuclear disarmament a "good idea," A. Giraud frankly does not approve of the first step in this area—the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Even despite the fact that officially the French leadership, in the persons of the president and the prime minister, considers this agreement to be positive, the defense minister stated outright: "I am not one of those who are delighted by the treaty between Reagan and Gorbachev." However, according to him, since the document has already been signed, the "free world" must take steps to strengthen its security.

From the interview with the minister, it follows that Paris is continuing to proceed on the basis of the alleged superiority of Warsaw Pact states in the sphere of conventional and chemical weapons. This gives him a reason for totally rejecting the idea of a nonnuclear Europe. A. Giraud also supported the program for a sharp increase in French nuclear potential and excluded the possibility of Paris' stopping nuclear tests.

Soviet Envoy Cited on F-16 Redeployment
PM071602 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
3 Mar 88 p 11

[Unattributed report: "F-16s to Italy: Gorbachev Considering Postponing Visit"]

[Text] The "need to refrain from decisions moving in the opposite direction from that of forging "genuine disarmament" [quotation marks as published] was asserted yesterday by the USSR's ambassador to Italy, Nikolay Lunkov, in connection with the possible transfer to an Italian base of the American F-16s based at Torrejon in Spain. The diplomat made these remarks during a meeting with Mayor of Comiso Salvatore Zago to convey a message from the Soviet Government. Asked whether this would make Gorbachev's visit to Italy more difficult, Lunkov replied that "it would certainly not make it easier."

EL PAIS Criticizes Spanish Cooperation Moves
PM071101 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Vernikov article: "One Can Only Wonder..." under rubric "Notes Apropos"]

[Text] Madrid—A new term, obviously deriving from official military department documents—the "European defense option"—has begun to appear increasingly frequently in the political vocabulary of Spanish newspaper correspondents of late. It is a formula which clearly shows that efforts are being turned in the direction of the Western European Union (WEU), membership of which Spain has long tried to secure.

It became known the other day that the Spanish Government is looking into the possibility of forming a special large subunit of parachutists and helicopter pilots in the near future which could link up with the French "Rapid Action Forces" during military operations and effectively cooperate with the French-West German brigade currently being established. It is true that Spanish military circles are doing their utmost to emphasize the fact that this formation will be stationed on national territory, but it will be able to take part in operations outside Spain's borders.

"This is exactly what Spain does not want to do as a member of NATO," the newspaper **EL PAIS** writes, "but it has agreed to make concessions to its European partners who want it to make a real gesture of solidarity in order to become a member of the WEU." But if we are going to call a spade a spade, Spain is actually taking a step toward the idea long cherished by pan-Europeans to create a new military bloc on the continent which is not only not in opposition to NATO but, quite the reverse, complementary to it. And this has come at a time when the peoples' demand to reduce nuclear missiles and conventional weapons and eliminate military blocs is gathering momentum in Europe.

To all appearances, talks between Spain, France, and Italy on signing a whole series of agreements on operational military cooperation to control the western Mediterranean are developing along the same lines as military preparations to form a "European defense option." The purpose of these talks is to discuss the formation of a powerful strike force comprising naval and air force formations which will have the aforementioned countries' warning and monitoring systems at its disposal for its essentially permanent presence in the Mediterranean. In other words, as local political observers believe, you cannot rule out the possibility that the powerful American squadron cruising in these waters and other U.S. formations stationed at their bases in this region are soon to be backed up by new ships which have a "European label" but are no less dangerous because of this and will only increase tension on commercial shipping routes.

"Spain is therefore obviously trying to win itself weight and authority in Europe," we read in an EL PAIS editorial article. "This is giving rise to a multitude of doubts." Or rather perplexity—after all, the authorities' official assurances regarding their policy in Europe and the Mediterranean in particular have nothing in common with these measures.

CPSU Delegation Returns From Madrid

PM081115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 88
Second Edition p4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] On 27 February a CPSU delegation led by I.S. Boldyrev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Stavropol CPSU Kraykom, returned to Moscow from Madrid after taking part in the work of the 12th Spanish Communist Party Congress.

CPSU CC Congratulates PCE's Anguita

LD291310 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT
29 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—The CPSU Central Committee has congratulated Julio Anguita on being elected general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain and wished him and all the Spanish Communists much success in the struggle for the basic interests of working people, for the triumph of the ideas of peace and socialism.

Military Policy of Britain's Tories Criticized

PM041425 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin "International Notes": "Clouding the Issue"; passages within slantlines appear only in first edition]

[Text] Assembly is once again being sounded in the British Isles on account of the "Soviet threat." It turns out that the Soviets have undertaken disarmament talks

only for the sake of appearances. The Soviet Union's "communist schemes" with regard to Europe and the whole world have not changed, for there are no "specific signs" that the new thinking is turning it into a peace-loving state. The British should rouse themselves and look at the East with sober eyes: Soviet troops stand ready for a surprise assault /and a quick capture of Western territories. The egotistic complaints of the taxpayer who does not wish to rise above purely personal interests or look further than his own fence must give way to the quest for the "high standards" that form the basis of the tolerant, law-abiding British society./

Precisely such an ideological background is being skillfully created by official propaganda in Britain today. The allegations that the Soviet Union advocates the reduction of both nuclear and conventional arms for the sake of publicity are, quite frankly, hypocritical. Whoever thinks and says this is simply lacking in a sense of historical responsibility. Let us turn, however, to the facts.

Not so long ago the British Central Office of Information prepared a brochure entitled "Britain's Means of Defense." This document—a kind of military program of the Tory government for the next few years—states that "British defense policy pursues the aim of ensuring the most efficient use of the existing resources to maintain the West's security, the chief threat to which is posed by the Warsaw Pact's nuclear and conventional forces."

Examining the whole range of tasks facing the British Armed Forces, the brochure's compilers indicate the areas in which the chief efforts are to be concentrated: "NATO's strategic nuclear deterrent force and the defense of the central region of Europe, the east Atlantic, and the English Channel, as well as of Britain itself and the immediate approaches to it."

The steadfastness of the British Conservatives' position is being displayed at a time when the first signs of movement toward real disarmament have become apparent. It seems that London is resolutely opposed to this movement. Otherwise, it is hard to explain why some of its official spokesmen behave as though the situation has not improved but worsened as a result of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. /You have to possess a truly pathological inability to accept actual reality if, in response to the Soviet Union's tireless peace proposals and in response to the hand of peace which the Soviet Union is extending, you shout in a panic that you are being shown a fist./

This is being done because somebody finds it advantageous to maintain blind faith in "the immutability of the communist schemes" of the Soviet Union. Somebody needs at all costs to present the "image of an enemy" in such a way that it serves to justify militarist plans. These plans are far from being able to be called defensive.

According to the newspaper THE INDEPENDENT, the British Ministry of Defense intends, for example, to make a substantial shift [dovorot] in planning the use of the Navy, concentrating the fleet's actions on forward-based combat operations, closer to Soviet shores. In other words, they want to bring the British Navy's tasks into line with the U.S. naval strategy aimed at destroying the Soviet fleet, in the event of combat operations commencing, "before it can be deployed." Providing elucidations in this regard, Defense Ministry spokesman R. Mottram said: "We have decided that it is best to defend Britain on the basis of a strategy of forward-based combat operations at sea."

It will be appropriate to recall that some 2 years ago the commander of the British Army of the Rhine stationed in the FRG argued in a similar vein about the effectiveness of forward-basing on the ground. He also insisted that the best means of defense is to inflict a strike on enemy troops before they have been turned out of where they are permanently stationed /and when they "are in a nervous state."/

The plans to modernize nuclear systems, about which Prime Minister M. Thatcher insistently speaks, also do not tie in at all with "the defensive nature" of Britain's war preparations. Introducing readers to these schemes, THE GUARDIAN reports, for example, London's intention to equip the British Air Force with a new "air-to-ground" nuclear missile. They are reckoning on launching this missile from Tornado fighter-bombers outside the enemy's air defense zone /with a view to hitting targets on his territory./

Having taken their place in the vanguard of those who are seeking "compensation," British leading figures sometimes employ quite strange logic in their arguments. Judge for yourselves. Defending London's position on the question of preserving and modernizing tactical nuclear weapons on FRG territory (where, incidentally, people are far less enthusiastic about this idea), British Defense Secretary G. Younger declared: "West Germany is not the only NATO country that could suffer from the use of this class of weapon. Other countries whose troops are stationed in the FRG could also suffer equally from it." One wonders whether the West Germans find it any easier because other nations will also "suffer" together with them? Hardly.

Propagandizing their nuclear views, the Tory government's spokesmen zealously criticize the idea of "certain groups" in the country which call for unilateral nuclear disarmament as a good example to others. This idea is mercilessly exposed as a direct encroachment on Britain's peaceful life. At the same time, it could well seem to an inexperienced person that Britain could be on the point of being disarmed, and what is more, disarmed unilaterally. However, the point is not at all that London

is opposed to unilateral disarmament but that it totally rejects the idea of its involvement in the process of eliminating nuclear means, and considers them a preventative against war.

British official spokesmen have recently begun displaying a very cool attitude also toward the conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons. They use references to the technical difficulties of verifying production of chemical ammunition and to the supposed lack of confidence that all the participants are playing an honest game. Thus, doubt is cast on the possibility in principle of establishing confidential relations among partners who have concluded any agreements. Yet, without this, it is altogether extremely difficult to take specific steps in the spirit of the new political thinking.

"The world needs policies appropriate to the times," M.S. Gorbachev said. "This is what we count on, particularly when we deal with such great political entities on an international scale as Britain." The times demand the revision of many views and stereotypes, including those that have taken shape under the influence of "healthy Conservative positions," as London puts it.

Disarmament Views of UK's G. Younger Noted
PM041129 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 88
Morning Edition pp 4-5

[Vikentiy Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion":
"Not Legends But Facts"]

[Text] British Defense Secretary George Younger has never supported the idea of nuclear disarmament. He has recently been up in arms against it with particular vehemence, not stinting angry epithets addressed to groups and organizations in his country which advocate ending the nuclear arms race.

He is talking, as can be seen, about quite broad sections of the British public. Otherwise, the defense secretary would hardly need to expend so much energy in his attempts to discredit this idea, which he considers not just useless but even "dangerous." What, then, does G. Younger find that is bad in it?

He recently claimed: "You cannot defend your people against nuclear weapons with notices on lampposts, statements in councils, or banners fixed to the front of the town hall, just as King Canute could not stop the sea coming in by declaring a tidefree zone."

All rhetoric has its own limit of what is possible from the viewpoint of common sense. This cannot be said of the cited statement by the British defense secretary. The legend of King Canute, who ordered the waves to stop, remains a legend, while the movement involving millions of people against mass destruction weapons is an incontestable fact, however undesirable it might seem to the head of the military department on the banks of the Thames. Furthermore, can the arms race be identified

with the rising tide? The latter does not depend on human will, while the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed mutually to destroy two categories of nuclear missile weapons. Real disarmament measures are within the realm of governments' possibilities, and, by advocating such measures, the public both in Britain and in other countries does not resemble the mythical King Canute but strives for a specific, feasible goal.

Incidentally, G. Younger has approved the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Why is he up in arms against further steps in the direction of nuclear disarmament?

This is how he attempts to explain his stand: "West Europe," he declares, "will be left very vulnerable before the Warsaw Pact's huge superiority in chemical and conventional arms" if there are no nuclear weapons in the European zone.

So, it turns out that NATO's military potential, which has been built up and improved over almost 40 years, is dangerously inferior to the Warsaw Pact states' potential. And here is the opinion of Mrs M. Thatcher, British head of government, which she expressed at the same time as G. Younger was talking about the Warsaw Pact's "huge superiority." Speaking in Brussels a few days ago, she declared with reference to the NATO countries: "We must ensure the preservation of our **advantage** [boldface word as published] over the Warsaw Pact in the sphere of technology."

What was this? A slip of the tongue? Chance? Neither. The truth is that NATO has an advantage over the Warsaw Pact in some kinds of arms, while it is inferior in others. But there is no violation of the military equilibrium either in Europe or in the world as a whole. The British defense secretary should know this better than anyone. However, he preferred to ignore what is generally known. Why? In order to bring his rhetoric down on supporters of the idea of nuclear disarmament. Hence his sarcastic references, which carried no weight, to "notices on lampposts" and to the "banners" which some people supposedly intend to use for defense against nuclear weapons. The point is that the British defense secretary was addressing an audience in the town of Swindon, whose council has proclaimed its district a nuclear-free zone. This is not at all to G. Younger's liking. But the truth must be dearer. The truth is that it is not notices or banners that millions of people want to use to safeguard the planet against the catastrophe of nuclear war but consistent actions to curtail all existing arsenals of mass destruction weapons.

G. Younger declares that mankind will never lose the knowledge of how to make such weapons. True. But the conclusion he draws is wrong: "At times of tension," according to him, "the temptation would arise to make use of this knowledge," that is, to produce such weapons.

It is on this that the British defense secretary dwells in making this claim—as though there were no United Nations Organization with its machinery and no world community with its potential capable of ensuring the creation of a system of international security that would guarantee mankind against violators of peace.

It is quite strange when a minister of the British Government resorts to references to chemical weapons, which can create the impression that no talks are being held on this problem and that no outline of an accord on the destruction of stocks of such weapons has been drawn. The British Government, meanwhile, is actively involved in these talks.

The same applies to the problem of conventional arms. The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared its readiness to proceed to far-reaching steps in the reduction of these arms in Europe on condition that the NATO countries take steps in return.

The British defense secretary prefers to keep quiet about all this. But it is impossible to run away from obstinate facts. They will overtake the runner.

TV Hook-ups With UK To Air Direct Dialogues *LD061135 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 6 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—The USSR State Television and radio (Gosteleradio) and British independent Thames Television will carry out an unprecedented series of television hook-ups USSR-UK. For six days in a row television viewers will watch direct dialogues between Soviet and British audiences, a TASS correspondent was told by Leonid Zolotarevskiy, the Soviet anchorman of the television hook-ups.

The series will be an unusual and a complex one because the space link-ups will be between Soviet and British cities, Leonid Zolotarevskiy noted. The first introductory debate will be held between Moscow and London on March 13 with the participation of people of different professions, including people broadly known in their countries. Since Britons show special interest in the events in connection with the Soviet school reform, senior graders will be specially invited for the meeting.

Then the Soviet Baltic cities of Tallinn and Riga, and Belfast, Manchester, Glasgow and Nottingham, from the British side, will participate in the dialogue. The subject of the discussions have been named in advance as a result of joint discussions: detente and disarmament problems, human rights, the family and education of children, young people and their future, prospects for Soviet-British cooperation.

The idea of such a series is both interesting and well-founded, Zolotarevskiy noted. Since the television hook-ups which have become so popular are today the most

accessible form of international communication. Nowadays not so much experts as common citizens of various countries are invited for participation in such programmes, we can speak about the origination of a new genre—people's television journalism. The direct and frank conversations of "people's diplomats" are conducive to strengthening trust and mutual understanding.

Trade Talks With Finland Held in Moscow
LD032206 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT
3 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Topical questions of Soviet-Finnish trade and economic cooperation were discussed today at a meeting between USSR Minister for External Economic Ties Konstantin Katushev and Finland's Minister of Trade and Industry Ilkka Suominen.

Taking part in the conversation from the Finnish side also were representatives of the big companies Neste, Nokia and Outokumpu who are staying here in connection with the regular 33rd meeting of the standing intergovernmental Soviet-Finnish Commission on Economic Cooperation.

Konstantin Katushev acquainted the representatives of Finland's business community with the changes in the system of the Soviet Union's external economic ties. It was noted that the new ministry which effects guidance of the entire external economic complex should conduct business with foreign partners more flexibly and dynamically and facilitate the speediest solution of complex questions of trade and economic activity, including the conduct of balanced trade between the Soviet Union and Finland.

During the conversation the sides made a number of concrete proposals on how to overcome some tendencies obstructing the further mutually advantageous trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Finland. The sides studied in particular questions of increasing the export of a number of Soviet commodities to Finland and stepping up cooperation in developing the Kola Peninsula's raw materials resources.

Both sides must make an effort to solve the problem of disbalance in Soviet-Finnish trade, it was stressed during the conversation. Only a joint search will create the necessary preconditions for further increasing trade between the two countries and facilitate a greater scope of economic cooperation.

The conversation passed in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere.

Kamentsev, Sorsa Sign Protocol
LD042331 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT
4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—The 33rd session of the permanent intergovernmental Soviet-Finnish commission for economic cooperation ended here today with the signing of a final protocol.

It was signed by Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the Soviet part of the commission, and by Kalevi Sorsa, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Finland, chairman of the Finnish part of the commission.

"During the session, a large amount of work was done to evaluate the present state of Soviet-Finnish trade and economic relations, and ways to solve the tasks facing our two countries were mapped out," Vladimir Kamentsev has told a TASS correspondent.

"Over the past 20 years, goods turnover in Soviet-Finnish trade has grown ten-fold—from 400 million to 4,000 million dollars. The results of 1987 indicate that it is only through joint efforts that the sides will be able to solve the problems of the unbalanced character of trade. As compared with 1986, goods turnover between the Soviet Union and Finland grew by more than 20 per cent. The same increase is planned for 1988 as well. This will be achieved resultant, mainly, of changing the pattern of goods turnover and of active utilization of new forms of cooperation."

Apart from current matters concerning Soviet-Finnish trade, the session also discussed prospects for cooperation, specifically in the development of the raw material resources of the Kola Peninsula, the construction of a gas pipeline to central Finland from the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in the USSR's northwest, in the joint construction of a hydroelectric pumped storage power plant in the territory of Finland, and in wider coordination in ship-building.

"Much attention was devoted to developing cooperation on the basis of industrial coordination and to such new-to-us form of cooperation as the establishment of joint enterprises. About ten offers concerning joint ventures have come from Finnish companies. The Soviet side is ready for such cooperation on the broadest basis", Vladimir Kamentsev pointed out.

"The question of drafting a new five-year agreement on trade as well as of working to implement the programme for the building of ships in Finland for the Soviet Union was also raised at the session. This creates good prerequisites and once again reaffirms the intention of our two countries to give greater scope to mutual cooperation on a long-term basis," Vladimir Kamentsev said.

Turkish Premier Cables Ryzhkov From Aircraft
PM071015 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "From the Aircraft"]

[Text] While flying over USSR territory en route from Teheran to Ankara, Prime Minister T. Ozal of Turkey sent a greetings telegram to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, expressing the hope that

cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkey will continue to develop on the basis of equality, mutual understanding, and good-neighborliness.

Briefs

Gorbachev Works Published in Turkey

—Istanbul March 4 TASS—The publishing house Amach put out in Turkish a two-volume publication of speeches and articles by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The collected works starts with the speech by the Soviet leader at the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Works by Mikhail Gorbachev evoke great interest among Turkish readers. His books devoted to the revolutionary process of perestroika, democratization of Soviet society, the campaign for peace, the new political thinking in the nuclear age and issues of disarmament were published several times in Turkish and enjoy deserved popularity in the country. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 4 Mar 88 LD]

Cooperation Plan With Netherlands

The Hague, 6 Mar (TASS)—A ceremony took place in Amsterdam today to sign a cooperation plan between the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the "USSR-Netherlands" society, and the "Netherlands-USSR" society. The document provides for a specific program of work by the sides over 1988-1989. Included in it are events involving twinned towns, holding Soviet Union days in the Netherlands with Soviet Union republics taking part, the exchange of art exhibitions, and many other events to promote the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust and the expansion of cultural links and all-round cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and the Netherlands. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Mar 88 LD]

Latin America & Caribbean

TASS Cites U.S. Maneuvers in Canal Zone
LD071516 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT
7 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 7 TASS—The military manoeuvres, which are conducted by the U.S. Southern Command, got under way in the Panama Canal Zone. According to news agency reports from Panama, the purpose of the exercises is to upgrade the combat training of the U.S. troops deployed in that zone. Latin American observers point out that the manoeuvres are staged at the moment when relations between Panama and the United States have sharply aggravated as a result of Washington's gross interference in the republic's internal affairs.

In an interview with the Mexican newspaper EXCEL-SIOR Panamanian President Manuel Solis Palma called attention to the real threat of U.S. armed intervention. He stressed that the political crisis through which his country was going was provoked exactly by the United States which is bent on forming a government that would be obedient to it and enable Washington to preserve its military bases in Panama even after the year 2000 contrary to the existing treaties.

Carlos Villalas, procurator general of Panama, denounced the hypocritical statements by Washington officialdom to the effect that the Panamanian side ostensibly does not take an active part in the fight against the illegal narcotics production and trafficking. The United States is known to charge without grounds General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defence Forces, with involvement in the international narcotics business and demands his removal from this post.

Meanwhile, demonstrations to protest the U.S. flagrant interference in Panama's domestic Affairs continue in Panama. The national center of the Panamanian working people has called upon the population to stage a mass march today to demonstrate this way their resolve to defend the national sovereignty and vital interests of the Panamanian people in face of Washington's unceasing intrigues.

Caracas March 7 TASS—The U.S. policy towards Panama is dictated by aggressive objectives, Victor Hugo de Paolo, member of the House of Deputies of Venezuela's Congress, told newsmen here. This view is fully shared by Pedro Ortega Diaz, member of the Political Bureau of Venezuela's Communist Party Central Committee. Washington resorts to interference each time when it is out to implant a puppet regime in some country, he stressed.

Cuba Publishes State Department Cable
PM080909 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 88
Morning Edition p 5

[Yu. Kosinskiy dispatch: "Life Preserver Misses the Mark"]

[Text] Geneva—"Secret. To all U.S. diplomatic and consular missions... Subject: Campaign of attacks on Valladares..."

This is the first time I have held such a document or, rather, a copy in my hands. The U.S. State Department telegram signed by G. Shultz personally deals with facts many of which are already known to our readers from the article "With Dynamite Clutched to His Breast" carried in IZVESTIYA No 37. The State Department was evidently taking our newspaper article into account when it prepared the document.

At a press conference in Geneva's Palais des Nations organized on the initiative of Cuba's delegation at the session of the UN Human Rights Commission for journalists accredited to the UN department everyone who so wished could familiarize himself with the original of the U.S. State Department's secret dispatch, copies of which were handed to those present. The cable is essentially an instruction to the State Department's representatives abroad. It suggests "counterarguments" to eliminate the negative reaction of international public opinion to the appointment of a former member of Batista's secret police, who was convicted in Cuba of terrorism, as head of the U.S. delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission session. "The U.S. document contains 15 fabrications with which Washington was reckoning on not only deceiving its friends and allies but even misleading staffers of the State Department itself," reads the statement disseminated by the Cuban delegation in Geneva's Palais des Nations with regard to the secret telegram's contents.

In this connection attention is drawn to a clearly deliberate juggling with facts. One of the theses in the instruction reports that Valladares was allegedly arrested "for anticommunist statements and for refusing to hang a revolutionary propaganda poster in his office." In fact,

the statement reads, he was arrested, convicted, and sentenced at a court trial for criminal acts of terrorism. The investigation proved his complicity in the activities of an underground terrorist organization.

The U.S. document presents Valladares as some kind of unfortunate outcast who, after the victory of the revolution in Cuba, was unable to find work because of his past. That claim is counter to the truth, the statement points out. Valladares was hired for work at the Ministry of Communications as a mail employee, like other former members of the police and the army.

So what dictated the actions of the U.S. diplomatic service, which, figuratively speaking, was forced to throw Valladares a life preserver? Those present at the current Geneva sessions of the UN Human Rights Commission do not find it hard to answer this question. The figure of Valladares has proved too odious even in the eyes of the West's representatives, and not only because of his seriously tarnished reputation in the recent past. The majority of countries reject the persistent attempts by Valladares and members of the delegation which he heads to substitute abuse, crude attacks, and political speculation for a constructive dialogue on human rights in Geneva.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Addresses Bearings Plant Workers PM081450 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "The Workers of Moscow Speak: M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With the Collective of the First State Bearings Plant"]

[Text] Businesslike meetings and frank conversations between party and state leaders and labor collectives have become an integral part of restructuring and of the widening democracy.

As already reported, on 4 March a meeting took place between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the working people of the First State Bearings Plant.

Set up during the first 5-year plan, the First State Bearings Plant became the basis of the country's bearings industry. More than 20,000 workers and specialists work here. The output of this thrice-decorated enterprise, the sector's largest, is well-known not only at home, but also abroad. Bearings manufactured by the plant collective, weighing literally anything from a few grams to several tonnes, are used in machines and machine tools, on earth and in space, in household equipment and in the most complex scientific instruments.

The plant's collective, many thousands strong, is constantly engaged in a quest for new forms of labor organization, incentives and potential for improving output quality and increasing production efficiency.

"We attach great significance to today's meeting," M.S. Gorbachev said, addressing the plant workers, "and I do not think there is any need to explain at length why. Now, at the start of the second stage of the restructuring, the rapid pace of our public life is obvious to everyone and everyone can see what powerful social forces have been set in motion and what interesting processes are developing in society.

"At the February Central Committee plenum we once again urgently set the pressing task of regenerating the Leninist face of socialism, the Leninist concept of people's power, the Leninist style of party leadership. And this must be done through democracy developed to the maximum, through the radical transformation of the entire economic mechanism, through the resolute renewal of the party's role in the conditions of restructuring.

"Responsible and very difficult tasks. As you know, they will be discussed by the delegates to the 19th all-union party conference. It is extremely important for us to know how the party's initiatives are received in the workers' collectives. In my opinion, this is the most

important thing for a politician: to know people's mood and feel the pulse of real life. Without this, politics degenerates into lifeless scholasticism and dogmatism.

"You have doubtless noticed that Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries are traveling around the country and constantly meeting with the people. That is how it must be. A modern-day party leader at any level must have close links with people, with life. Otherwise he will miss the boat, as the saying goes—he will not keep up with the democratism of life that has been boosted by restructuring. This is the standpoint from which I view our meeting too. I will be glad to hear your opinion on today's affairs and problems and on tasks for the future.

"The restructuring will only become irreversible when it enters the labor collectives' daily life on a broad front. This has been clear since the Central Committee April (1985) plenum. But only now can we speak of this as a reality. Why? Because the Law on the State Enterprise has come into force and many thousands of enterprises and associations are already operating under its conditions. Because millions of people have begun to come into real contact with practice, with the line elaborated by the party of democratization of society and radical economic reform.

"Today nobody can remain aloof from restructuring. It is rather difficult to keep silent and sit in the shadows, waiting to see what will come of it all. Everyone now has to define his own personal position, his place in the general order.

"Of course, we must see the difficulties that many collectives are encountering in work in the new conditions of economic management. This is a complex process, and many of the reasons for difficulties are objective. They originate in the failures of coordination inherited from the past in planning, material and technical supplies, and pricing. We will have to untie complex knots, and this work is now under way. In a word, many issues have accumulated on which I would like to consult you."

A detailed discussion with the leaders of the enterprise, members of the party committee, and leading specialists took place in the plant directorate. Many things interested the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. What difference has the Law on the Enterprise made to the plant workers' life? How have people received it? How are economic accountability relations now shaping up in production? What are the first steps in self-management by the workers? What is being done to tackle the collective's social concerns?

V.B. Nosov, general director of the association, spoke of the enterprise's affairs and plans. The plant is undergoing substantial modernization. A course has been set of using the most progressive equipment and leading technology. It is interesting, the director observed, that it is

the modernized sectors, the work stations where there are programmable machine tools, that have attracted young people. The plant's collective is now in its 2d year of work in the conditions of economic accountability. Labor productivity has increased. This has made it possible to operate with a smaller number of workers, and therefore to increase wages.

M.S. Gorbachev inquired how the enterprise ensures the fulfillment of the state order.

"In the current year," the director replied, "our state order amounts to 99.7 percent of what we are now capable of producing. As you can see, we have no room to maneuver. But that is not all. The state order includes the most disadvantageous, most unprofitable output. We are facing an economic paradox: What is advantageous to the state is not advantageous to the collective. After all, theoretically every enterprise should literally fight to obtain a state order that is fully backed up by materials and enables it to obtain a high profit. State orders, the plant workers feel, should be issued on a competitive basis, on the basis of rivalry among enterprises for the right to receive the order."

M.S. Gorbachev observed that normal mutual relations between producers and consumers can only be developed through interdependence and the combination of their interests. These questions can only be tackled through contracts and normatives.

The conversation turned to the quality of the output produced. For articles like bearings, there is no more important indicator than the standard of quality. State acceptance, introduced last year, certainly spurred us on, the director said, but it did not catch us unawares and did not lead to any marked hiccups in production. High output quality has become the norm for us, the requirement of every specialist and every working person at the enterprise. In terms of the standard of quality our bearings are approximately twice as good as the requirements of many of our consumers stipulate. We have a very high reserve of quality.

M.S. Gorbachev: Does your monopoly position on the domestic market not affect quality? The new economic mechanism should avert the negative consequences of this situation and ensure strict fulfillment of the conditions of the economic contract.

The plant leaders explained that the collective regards the total fulfillment of contract commitments as inextricably linked to improving the technical standard of articles and their reliability and durability. Only thus is it possible to count on better results on the domestic market and on increased export deliveries. Today the collective has a vital interest in having its own, earned currency funds.

M.S. Gorbachev: But could you produce more output for export?

V.B. Nosov: Of course, we have the technical potential to do so, but the most important thing is that we want to earn currency and acquire the equipment we need. The moral side is also of considerable importance here: People are gaining increased faith in their own professionalism, they are proud that they can produce output that is up to high world standards.

N.S. Anichkov, secretary of the plant party committee, and N.M. Zhukov, deputy chairman of the association's trade union committee, spoke in detail about organizing the work of the labor collective council and elaborating and implementing the plant's social development program.

M.S. Gorbachev then visited the enterprise's shops. Detailed conversations took place with workers about the problems that concern them. All kinds of issues were raised. But the main discussion was about the cause, about how to accelerate modernization and how to make the best products in the world.

Ye.I. Taratorkin, automatic grinding machine adjuster, had this to say: Quality is our main concern in our work today, and we are doing much in this direction. But it is a shared task and must be tackled together—by us, and by those who supply the metal and equipment. At present the quality of metal does not satisfy us.

M.S. Gorbachev: Give the metallurgists the benefit of your workers' state acceptance.

Ye.I. Taratorkin: The trouble is that hidden defects are hard to discover during the check when the materials come in. But later they result in a whole consignment of finished products being rejected.

M.S. Gorbachev: In a production unit like yours there should be strict quality control on entry. The metallurgists should have quality control, and so should you. We have an interest in your plant receiving steady supplies of good materials. Why? If bearing production is interrupted, the entire national economy is in a fever. In present conditions, with enterprises themselves concluding contracts, you have a right to say: If you don't give us the necessary metal, we will not take the order. Especially since a state order is issued for bearings, which should be backed up by the priority allocation of resources. So you now have more rights.

I do not think everything will change at once. Metallurgy must restructure itself, and you too must do many things differently. But things will improve. I am sure that in the near future we will get a grip on the situation. We will not allow it to get out of control. We are now tackling questions of modernizing the whole of machine building, we want to accelerate housing construction and improve the supply of food and other goods. We want to move forward more rapidly, and everything necessary must be done to achieve this. But we cannot clear all the barriers at once, they must be tackled successively.

N.F. Lineva, fitter: We are pleased, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that you are taking an interest in our affairs right here, in the shop. You discuss things in detail with the workers and consult with them.

M.S. Gorbachev: I believe that it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the working person's life and his feelings and needs, otherwise it is hard to elaborate the right policy and take the correct decisions. These are complex times, and they affect all of us. The other day I read in the newspaper about one major plant: They report that the workers received less wages in January and February. It is annoying, of course, and unpleasant when a worker receives less. But how can you pay a full ruble if it has not been earned? If wages are not linked to output growth, what can you get for these 'bills'? You and I know what happens: You earn some money, you go into a store—this is unavailable, that is unavailable. And all because this principle used to operate: Whether you produce the output or not, whether the quality is good or bad—you get your money. And the result? Resources have gone, labor has been used, money has been paid out, but no goods. Can you live like that? Of course not. Matters went so far that certain plants had to be all but closed for a time. Take, for instance, the Baku domestic refrigerators. The people lost all interest in them, they simply stopped buying them. Production was stopped. Then the plant took the best models of refrigerators, perfected them, and now they are selling successfully both within the country and for exports, for currency.

We can do anything. Comrades. There are many talented people in the country. There is mighty science and a highly skilled working class. But it is necessary to change attitudes. Let us be frank about this: We must all work harder and step up the discipline—there simply is no other way. That is the aim of the reform.

You are already working well. When you have finished the modernization, when the new equipment appears, when new work stations appear and less manual work remains, then things will go better. We toured the old shops and went into the modernized ones too. There is a different mood among the people working on the new machine tools.

N.F. Lineva: They send us assembly robots from Kuybyshev, but they work badly. Whereas on equipment we have made ourselves we produce 2,000 bearings per shift, on the Kuybyshev equipment it is 1,200-1,300. One machine of theirs takes two workers to operate it, whereas our machines take only one.

M.S. Gorbachev: That is why we are now creating economic mechanisms to ensure that it is disadvantageous to produce obsolete products. Let me tell you this: We have launched a big job, necessary, essential, but complex. Some people do not like our restructuring and want to hinder it. They try to sow doubts in people's minds: Is the restructuring necessary? They say economic accountability and state acceptance are being

imposed on the working class. Vodka sales have been restricted. The intelligentsia has been offended by the transfer of science to economic accountability. The management apparatus is being cut. And they present everything in this highly colored way, hinting that society cannot take the strain.

I think Soviet people correctly understand the measures we are now putting into practice. They are necessary for the whole of society. It is well-known that at one time the process of cadre renewal was halted in the country and a kind of cadre stagnation developed. Some of the leaders came to believe that it was not they who serve the people, but the people who serve them. That is why we need democracy, which will put everything in its proper place. The people are masters of the country. They will decide who is worth what. They will stick up for a good man. We are counting on that, we are orienting ourselves toward people's common sense. Of course, there will be demagogues, but it will not be they who determine the country's fate.

Why did we embark on economic reform? So that people would begin to think, to participate in a committed way in the development of production and the discussion of plans. People cannot be made into bystanders. I think we will survive all the difficulties, we will certainly go forward. We sense the working people's support.

Voices: That's right, Mikhail Sergeyevich. We support that policy! We like the transformations taking place in the country. We are much more willing to work!

M.S. Gorbachev asked the workers about their working conditions, wages, housing conditions, and the work of the canteen.

G.V. Tatarinova, inspector: Much has improved, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

T.V. Matveyeva, worker: Mikhail Sergeyevich, many young people are still leaving the plant because of the housing shortage. Look at our girls. Some of them live in the hostel.

M.S. Gorbachev: Your leaders and I have discussed this in detail. Today it is important to increase the capacities for housing construction at the plant itself. It is very good that you have your own construction and installation subunit, which is helping to tackle the housing problem. The plans are quite good. But more must be done.

G.D. Rokhalskaya, foreman: The young people's housing complex is helping to set up young families.

M.S. Gorbachev: Many collectives are taking this path. Everyone works together on construction, and progress is made.

I was talking to some women on the plant's territory. Two of them have been working here since 1944. They need one-room apartments. Their lives have developed in such a way that they are left without families. Frankly, it is disgraceful that they have not yet received individual apartments. Young people must be given housing, so that they can arrange their lives, and veterans must, because they have earned the right. We believe that we must now moderate our appetites for the construction of new industrial facilities and allocate more resources for the development of housing, kindergartens, hospitals—in short, the social sphere. We have already increased these resources. We are now developing individual construction in cities and workers' settlements. There are many who want to build. And that is good: People build with local materials.

After his inspection of the shops and conversation with workers, M.S. Gorbachev met with workers, team leaders, foremen, shop chiefs, the party, trade union, and Komsomol aktiv, and the association's leaders in the plant directorate conference hall.

"Like the whole country, your plant is undergoing renewal today," M.S. Gorbachev said, "and I am glad to have been able to see this for myself. The shops are being retooled, economic accountability methods of management are being assimilated, and social questions are being tackled. Of course, there are plenty of problems too. Some of them are left over from yesterday, some are new ones that have emerged today—in the course of restructuring, in the process of implementing economic reform. That is only natural. But I have formed the impression that you look to the future without panic and, I would say, with optimism, and that you are marching forward confidently.

"It is good that in their concern for the association's future the plant workers are operating on the basis of a well-thought-out program. Every major collective or production association should have its own scientifically elaborated development program. It should take account of questions of technical progress, measures for the reconstruction and modernization of production, and, of course, the whole range of social problems.

"It is good that the plant is well and truly engaged in modernization. It is also good that you are backing the country's own equipment and the creative work of our own engineers and workers.

"Today many enterprise leaders, seeking to resolve their technical problems as quickly as possible, often see only one way—buying as much imported equipment as possible. That is not a way out of the situation. Obviously some things have to be bought, but only what is acutely necessary, and we should rely on our country's own machine building, on the achievements of our own engineering thinking.

"Here much is held up by progress in machine building. It is machine building which should provide new machinery for all sectors of the national economy—light industry, agricultural production, and help in developing the service sphere and housing construction.

"A national program for modernizing the country's machine building has been created and is being implemented. It faced difficulties to begin with, and even now there are many complications and hitches here. But all the same, matters are under way. It is necessary to do everything possible really to ensure the fulfillment of the plans outlined.

"I know housing is one of your most pressing concerns. It is our common concern. The housing problem is extremely acute everywhere today. As you know, a good deal is being done to resolve it. But much will also depend on how you yourselves tackle the social sphere. Here it is necessary to show your own initiative and not wait for some kind uncle to do everything for you, especially since any social shortcomings hit production hard too. There is no denying that this is a labor-intensive task, it cannot be dealt with overnight, ground-work must be done.

"Another priority task is food products. Here I think the main thing is to free the hands of agricultural workers, not prevent them from showing sound, socialist initiative, and support new forms of labor organization. Where this has been done, where the family and other forms of contract have begun to be developed, the results are plain to see. And what results! With the same potential, on the same land, and with the same machinery, they have managed to increase the productivity of the fields and livestock units by 50-100 percent.

"The social problems of the 5-year plan are today being resolved in the labor collectives, actually at the work places. Whatever a plant produces—machine tools or bearings—eventually it all comes back to the people, to the individual, in the form of output of some kind or other. That is why the vital task of the economic reform is to boost every working person's initiative and develop people's economic interest in increasing the productivity of their labor. This aim is served by economic accountability, by contract work, and by the development of all forms of cooperative and individual labor activity.

"Naturally, we need honest, industrious initiative," M.S. Gorbachev stressed, "not the kind of initiative that is sometimes shown by certain cooperatives which take advantage of shortages to engage in blatant money-grubbing. I can report that progressive taxation will be introduced to this end. I think that will be fair.

"Restructuring, economic reform, and the democratization of society raise many difficult and even urgent questions. Doubtless not all of them can be resolved at once, everywhere. But we must learn to manage the processes of restructuring and not to fear a few defects or

even errors in implementing the party's principled line of renouncing administrative decree methods of management. The main thing here is to rely on people, to consult with people, with labor collectives. And, of course, people must learn to make decisions themselves.

"Many local leaders still cannot rid themselves of the habit of taking every question to Moscow, to the central organs—as if you could see better from Moscow what must be produced and where, what must be sown and where. The same dependent attitude is sometimes displayed at the enterprises too: If there is a shortage of something, they wait for it to be issued from above. Even in good labor collectives such sentiments are widespread—the bosses are there, they say, let them do the thinking. And so it goes 'up the chain': The workers say—let the director do the thinking, the director expects the gorkom or ispolkom to do the thinking, and they refer to the central organs.

"This dependent position is becoming simply intolerable under the conditions of democratization. It is obvious where it comes from. Not all leading cadres in the past felt the need to consult with people. Much was often decided in offices. Hence a corresponding reaction from people: indifference, complacency. But comrades, we are a great country, we have tremendous material and natural resources, remarkable human potential. We must find another way to live, and we can do so!

"The main thing, I think, is that the working class and all the people have understood and accepted restructuring. That is very important. It is nearly 3 years since the April plenum. It was hard, but the cogs are turning, and things have gotten under way, both in production, in science, and in cadre backup. The labor collectives are becoming involved in economic accountability. And the voice of the people has made itself heard everywhere.

"The potential of democracy," M.S. Gorbachev went on to say, "is the most reliable potential of restructuring. It is not really moving yet, but it certainly will get moving. The task is to ensure that the people themselves are active at all levels of management. That not simply good people, conscientious workers, are elected to the labor collective council and the soviets of people's deputies. Of course, that is necessary, but the most important thing is for them to be thinking, enterprising people who can defend their principles. Then things will get moving.

"Some people are skeptical about the democratization that is taking place in our society; they think we are making up fairy stories when we talk about people's self-management. Well, we have only just begun to launch this process. We shall see, as the saying goes. Remember how at first many people feared that democratization would lead practically to raging anarchy. But nothing of the kind happened. On the contrary, as soon as the people showed their initiative more actively, things began to get better, and those who were accustomed to idleness began to stir.

"People have straightened themselves out and are keeping an eye on shortcomings. The leader who is accustomed to giving orders cannot take the law into his own hands as he did before, idlers and loafers are finding things more uncomfortable, and drunkards have begun to be circumspect. Let us continue in this direction. We must shake off everything stagnant that has accumulated over the years. Democratization, backed up by economic accountability and scientific and technical progress, is the most reliable guarantee of the renewal of society.

"When the party started the restructuring, people in the West were sure it would get bogged down. A 'new team' has come to power, they said, it will have its say, criticize its predecessors—and everything will continue as before. Many people were counting on that. But now that they have seen that restructuring is not a word, but a reality, that socialism is confidently marching toward renewal, they have begun to get worried. Today all the radio stations on all the wavelengths are trying to convince our people that nothing will come of our restructuring. They are very reluctant to acknowledge the viability and dynamism of socialism. But these attacks do not worry us. Soviet people know why the restructuring was launched and what it is for."

After his speech, M.S. Gorbachev answered the plant workers' questions.

V.M. Portalimov, fitter of automatic lathes in the automated roller bearing block, asked this question: I have been working at the plant for more than 20 years and I see equipment prices changing. Formerly the automated lathes from the Kiev automated machine tools plant were not much more than one-fifth of the price they are now. Their qualities remain the same—in terms of energy consumption and precision. So why has the price changed?

M.S. Gorbachev: You have raised a very big question. You are right, there is great confusion in prices—both wholesale, and purchase, and retail—and I could cite many examples of this. But formerly it was, in general, a matter of indifference to everyone how much a given machine or a particular machine tool cost. Formerly you would not have asked me that question, because payment for machine tools was not connected with workers' wages. And that suited many people. But now the plant itself is beginning to pay—economic accountability is in operation, and that is good. But I share your concern. I will say more: There can be no progress in economic reform without price reform. A reform of pricing is now in preparation. I think the country's national economy will enter the 13th 5-Year Plan with new prices.

Hero of Socialist Labor P.A. Vindyukov, a heat engineer and deputy chairman of the association's labor collective council, then spoke. We are glad to welcome you to our enterprise, Mikhail Sergeyevich. We regard your arrival

and your meeting with the collective as a sign of the CPSU Central Committee's attention to the workers' vital interests and concern for restructuring to grow and widen.

At our plant too restructuring is proceeding, with difficulty, but indomitably. As a result the plant collective has managed to emerge from a major hitch. Now we have smoothed out the situation, but much still remains to be done. It is good that there were no instructions on how to do the restructuring, it comes from our hearts, from within.

The main thing that has been done is to overcome our lack of confidence in our forces and enable us to take a long-term view. We are clearly aware that nobody but ourselves will resolve the questions that have arisen, and therefore in all the plant's shops and departments today people are boldly entering into battle against sluggishness, inertia, and other phenomena engendered by the period of stagnation.

The party organization plays a leading role in the transformations taking place at the plant. Recently at every level many energetic new people have been promoted, people who know how to lead the collective. The workers' approach to the cause has also changed greatly. Great significance is attached to the fact that the plant has embarked actively on implementing the social program—housing construction has increased, the plant stadium has been modernized, our plant catering combine is being modernized, a new Pioneer camp is commissioned this year. These too are signs of restructuring.

The plant's development is greatly held back by obsolete equipment, which there is still much of at the plant. I am a heat engineer on a vacuum furnace created by Soviet scientists 15 years ago. It is a very good unit, but it is virtually the only technical innovation in the plant's thermal production unit, which has remained the same as it was in the fifties. Scientists should more rapidly create models of new, up-to-date machinery on which we could make output up to the best world standards.

I would like to mention another thing, too. The plant is carrying out a great deal of housing construction, but the construction sites allocated to us are a very long way from the plant—you spend 4 hours traveling. As a result people are leaving the enterprise, and the plant, although it has a good housing stock of 130 modern multistory blocks, constantly suffers from a cadre shortage. I would hope that the Moscow City Soviet will restructure itself and meet the plant's needs in allocating construction plots.

M.S. Gorbachev: Your opinion as a worker, Pavel Alekseyevich, is very important to us. I can see from your words that the policy of restructuring has taken root among the workers.

You are right about housing. Moscow City Soviet must tackle this matter. In Moscow in general many social problems have accumulated—in transport, in trade, and in consumer services. The intention is to rectify matters during this decade, by Moscow's 850th anniversary. In particular, we are thinking, especially in the center of the capital, of making more buildings available for the service sphere and opening cafes, restaurants, canteens, and snack bars.

Hero of Socialist Labor N.M. Motova, a polisher, joins in the conversation. It is noteworthy that our meeting today is taking place at a crucial stage in the life of the party and all our country—in the period of preparations for the 19th all-union party conference. The plant collective, despite the difficulties, has adopted increased socialist pledges—to complete the plan for the first half-year early, by the opening day of the party conference. This is a very serious point for us. We have not adopted the pledges merely formally. It was all thought out and calculated.

We can say today that the plant's transition onto a footing of restructuring is already bearing fruit. The new Law on the Enterprise also promotes this. From 1 January of this year we have begun more boldly to tackle urgent questions and we look to the future more optimistically. We are fulfilling our targets, with one exception—contractual deliveries. It is very upsetting that this takes place not only through our fault, but also through the fault of many of our suppliers, especially those who fail to supply us with metal and essential equipment on time. We can move mountains, but the trouble is: Restructuring is taking place at the plant, but the service sphere lags behind.

M.S. Gorbachev: I think the main thing for the plant now is retooling and the development of the social sphere.

A.Ye. Afonin, a forge and press operator and a delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress, speaks. A CPSU Central Committee plenum was held recently, devoted to problems of education and cadre training. Restructuring needs people capable of original thought and original decisions.

What am I specifically doing in this direction? I often go to our No 11 Vocational and Technical School and the schools under our patronage. I will be frank: I find it interesting to have contact with the young generation. I do not think they are indifferent to it, either. The kids ask me many questions—about work and about life in general. Such conversations are necessary, to us, the cadre workers, and to them. They enable us to understand each other better, and a common understanding is a tremendous strength.

What changes have there been in the last 2 years? The main thing is perhaps the strengthening of democracy and widening of glasnost. In the workers' collective this does not mean simply words and wishes: It means work,

a new, freer level of working relationships. We have elected team leaders and a shop chief. These are real manifestations not of theoretical, but of practical participation by the working person in production management. This not only strengthens discipline and increases responsibility, it also—most importantly—gives the worker faith that his opinion and initiative are necessary and important to the collective.

In an atmosphere of glasnost and democratization our merits and our failures and difficulties are more clearly visible. And there are plenty of the latter. The low quality of metal remains a major problem. The Chelyabinsk metallurgical plant, for instance, supplies good metal. One wonders why the Novokuznetsk metallurgists cannot do the same: This year they supplied us with five freightcars of poor quality metal.

We forge workers have decided to send a collective letter to the metallurgical workers; we believe they will understand us and change their attitude. It will be done worker fashion. In general, we do have difficulties. But we are not laying down our arms, so to speak. We want to work, and we know how to. And we will fulfill our duty as workers.

M.S. Gorbachev: Listening to you, I ask myself once again: Where is the enemy of restructuring? Within ourselves. Restructuring will make it clear who is worth what. Yes, we are changing the circumstances, but the circumstances are changing us too. Anyone who does not want to restructure himself must be swept out of the way. We must be principled here.

You have rightly set about developing democracy in production. This line must be continued. Of course, some people do not like this line of attack. But let me say firmly: All our policy is implemented in the interests of the working people, and let us adhere firmly to this course. If bureaucracy stops the transformations that have begun once again (and it has happened before), it will be disastrous for the country. So a major struggle lies ahead.

What have we done to fulfill the 5-year plan? The speaker is Yu.M. Davydov, secretary of the party bureau of the main production block. For the first time the shop has achieved 100-percent fulfillment of deliveries under contracts. The teams have gone over to payment by the end result, and this immediately produced great effects. The workers now see for themselves how people work, whom they need and whom they do not need. And foremen are chosen for their practical qualities, or sometimes people simply decide not to have a foreman.

A.A. Kalyuzhin, transport worker at the small-series production shop and chairman of the shop's labor collective council, asks: Will a charter for the labor collective council be drawn up? There are fears that a charter

will be compiled which will stand in the way of the workers' initiative in the form of some kind of instruction restricting the council's rights.

M.S. Gorbachev: There is the Law on the State Enterprise—the basis of our economic reform, the foundation on which production democracy must be built. This law clearly defines the labor collective's rights and duties. True, some people are trying to put some kind of "harness" on this law and start commanding the enterprises again. No, comrades, nobody is allowed to amend, still less destroy this law. The law must be respected and strictly complied with.

It is possible, at will, to compile hundreds of charters, hundreds of instructions, to stifle any initiative. Frankly, many people are used to living by instructions, they find it more peaceful. The old apparatus gave birth to many instructions. And the result? Today, under the influence of economic accountability and as a result of democratization, the wind of initiative is beginning to rise more and more often—and it is not a wind of words, of paper, but of real action. That is what distinguishes the second stage of restructuring.

Taking leave of the plant workers, M.S. Gorbachev said: I see we do not differ. The party and working class march in the vanguard of restructuring, and the CPSU Central Committee regards today's meeting as a synchronization of watches before the decisive attack. The main thing is that you are gaining strength as the masters, you have acquired a taste for economic accountability, for autonomy, for democratic norms of relationships. Stick to it: The country's fate is in the people's hands, in your deeds.

I know nearly half your plant's collective are women. Our meeting is taking place as 8 March approaches. Therefore I will take this opportunity cordially to congratulate the women on this fine spring holiday. I wish you all success!

M.S. Gorbachev was accompanied at the plant by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Latest on Armenia, Azerbaijan Unrest

Karabakh Official Comments

*LD081014 Moscow in English to North America
0001 GMT 26 Feb 88*

[Text] Reports from Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region in the Soviet Union's south, say the local situation has returned to normal following several days of unrest. The secretary of a district Communist Party committee in Nagorno-Karabakh, (Niyaz Garjeyev) has told our reporter in a telephone interview that all factories and farm cooperatives are working as usual. Here are some details:

The disturbances in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region were instigated by those Armenians who maintain that this region should belong to Armenia. People of Armenian nationality make up two-thirds of the population of this region, which since 1923 has been part of another Soviet republic, Azerbaijan. The national TASS news agency has reported violations of law and order by extremists in the region's largest city, Stepanakert. Alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Soviet Communist Party Georgiy Razumovskiy and Petr Demichev have flown to Nagorno-Karabakh to look into the facts.

The daily PRADVA says the demands made by the extremists have been considered by the party's Central Committee, which arrived at the conclusion that revision of the existing ethnic or territorial status of the region would run counter to the interests of both the Armenian and Azerbaijani people. Meanwhile, the Soviet parliamentary daily IZVESTIYA has reported that leaflets containing calls for demonstrations were first circulated in the city of Stepanakert back on 11 February. On the 13th a rally was staged in the city's central square. Hundreds of school children stayed home, and some students of the local teachers training college boycotted the classes.

Last Saturday a group of local parliamentarians called for considering the possibility that the Nagorno-Karabakh region be transferred to Armenia. Demonstrations voicing the same demand were staged also in the Armenian capital Yerevan. IZVESTIYA expressed the wish that this issue be submitted for open public discussion.

The 150,000 people living in Nagorno-Karabakh comprise 49 ethnic groups; newspapers in Stepanakert are published in Armenian and Russian; regional television broadcasts run in three languages—Azerbaijani, Armenian and Russian; school training is conducted in the same languages. Meanwhile a full-scale meeting of the regional party committee in Nagorno-Karabakh has relieved the first secretary of the region's party organization, Boris Kevorkov, of his duties, and replaced him by Genrikh Pogosyan, an Armenian by nationality.

Armenian Party Plenum Held

PM081135 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
27 Feb 88 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] An Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held 26 February 1988.

It was opened by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The appeal of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia was read out at the plenum.

The text of the appeal was read out by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum was addressed by Comrade K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; S.M. Petrosyan, instrument control team leader at the "Nairit" Science and Production Association; Z.Ye. Zakaryan, chairman of Abovianskiy Rayon's Kotayk Kolkhoz; L.G. Saakyan, first secretary of Yerevan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom; M.L. Mkrtchyan, first secretary of Akhuryanskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom; F.A. Petrosyan, director of Zangezurskiy Copper and Molybdenum Combine; I.A. Bagirov, first secretary of Amasiyskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom; G.G. Akopyan, first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee; Yu.P. Kochetkov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; S.K. Pogosyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; Dzh.I. Asratyan, first secretary of Ordzhonikidzevskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom; A.M. Gegamyan, first secretary of Mashtotskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom; A.G. Chilingaryan, chief editor of the journal AYASTANI ASHKHATAVOURI; S.A. Vartanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Council for Armenian Church Affairs; M.Kh. Grigoryan, chairman of the Local Industry and Municipal and Domestic Enterprise Workers Union Republic Committee; G.M. Kaplanyan, chairman of the Armenian Theater Workers Union; S.T. Akhumyan, Armenian SSR minister of education; N.L. Akopyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; Academician V.A. Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences; V.B. Galumyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; S.S. Arevshatyan, director of the Ancient Manuscripts Institute—the Matenadaran; S.A. Ambartsumyan, rector of Yerevan State University; M.A. Mstoyan, editor of the newspaper RYA TAZA; S.Ye. Nazaryan, first secretary of Aniyskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom; V.E. Mnatsakanyan, secretary of Yerevan Aluminum Plant Party Committee; S.Kh. Israyelyan, chairman of the Armenian Cinematographers Union Board; and V.P. Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum entirely and fully approved the appeal of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia and adopted a resolution which will be published in the newspaper's next issue.

A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, participated in the work of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

Text of Gorbachev Appeal

*PM081123 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
27 Feb 88 p 1*

[M. Gorbachev's "Appeal to the Working People and the Peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia"]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

I appeal to you in connection with the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

The question has been raised of the transfer of this autonomous oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR. An acute and dramatic nature has been imparted to this, which has led to tension and even to actions which transgress the law.

I will state frankly: The CPSU Central Committee is concerned at this development of events, which is fraught with the most serious consequences.

We do not advocate evading a frank discussion of various ideas and suggestions, but this must be done calmly, within the framework of the democratic process and legality, without permitting the slightest harm to our peoples' internationalist cohesion. Very serious questions of the people's destiny must not be left to the mercy of unruly forces [stikhiya] and emotions.

It is very important to assess one's concerns not only in the context of local conditions but also with due regard for the processes of revolutionary renewal under way in the country.

Yes, there are unresolved problems in our life, but the fanning of feuds and mistrust between peoples only hinders their resolution. This would run counter to our socialist principles and our morality, to the traditions of Soviet people's friendship and fraternity.

We live in a multinational country. More than that, all the republics, many oblasts, and even our cities and settlements are multinational. The purport of Lenin's nationalities policy is that every person and every nation should be able to develop freely and that every people should be able to satisfy their needs in all spheres of sociopolitical life, in their mother tongue and culture, in customs and beliefs.

Socialist internationalism is the source of our tremendous strength. The peoples' genuine fraternity and unity—this is our path.

The great Armenian poet Ye. Charents put it well on addressing Soviet Azerbaijan: "In the name of immense past suffering, in the name of life granted us among victories, in the name of amicable alliance and creation—we send greetings, greetings to the fraternal people."

How this is echoed by the words of S. Vurgun, great son of the Azerbaijani people: "We live not as neighbors but within each other. The peoples long ago took from each other fire for the hearth and their daily bread."

No mother would consent to her children being threatened by national feuds instead of strong bonds of friendship, equality, and mutual assistance—socialism's truly great find.

Many shortcomings and difficulties have accumulated in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The oblast's new leadership must take urgent measures to rectify the situation. The CPSU Central Committee has made clear recommendations about this and will keep direct track of their fulfillment.

The most important thing now is to concentrate on overcoming the situation which has taken shape and resolving the specific economic, social, ecological, and other problems which have accumulated in Azerbaijan and Armenia; in the spirit of the policy of restructuring and renewal being implemented throughout our country.

It is necessary to value and strengthen in every possible way the traditions of friendship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples which have evolved over the years of Soviet power. Only this approach accords with the genuine interests of all the USSR's peoples.

You know that it is intended to devote a plenum of our party's Central Committee specially to the development of national relations. We have to discuss a wide range of questions in this very important social sphere and, on the basis of the fundamental gains of Lenin's nationalities policy, outline ways for the specific resolution of social, economic, cultural, and other problems.

You and I are all Soviet citizens, we have a common history and common victories, and great labor, misfortunes, and losses lie behind us. We are engaged in the great cause of restructuring, on whose success the destinies of socialism, our motherland, and each of us depend.

I appeal to you, Comrades, to your consciousness and responsibility, to your prudence. In this trial, too, we will uphold our Soviet internationalism and our unshakable faith that we can ensure our society's progress and the prosperity of all its citizens only in the harmonious family of all our peoples.

I urge you to display civic maturity and restraint, to return to normal life and work, to observe public order.

The hour of reason and sober decisions has come.

M. Gorbachev

Armenian MVD: 'Ensuring Order'

PM081319 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
27 Feb 88 p 2

[ARMENPRESS report: "Proper Order Being Maintained"]

[Text] V.P. Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, and A.S. Shaginyan, Armenian SSR minister of internal affairs, have had a meeting at the republic MVD with representatives of the mass media. They spoke about the situation which has taken shape in Armenia in recent days and about the measures being taken to ensure order.

Numerous rallies and demonstrations have been taking place in Yerevan and other cities of the Armenian SSR for several days. They are connected with the well known events in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Militia workers have been set the difficult task of defending under these conditions the legitimate rights and interests of residents of the capital and other cities and proper order on their main roads and squares. It may confidently be stated that such order is being ensured in full. Stores and public catering and consumer service enterprises are functioning normally in Yerevan. The level of crime in the republic does not exceed the usual level during these days. There are no crimes of violence against the person.

But, taking account of the fact that there have been individual breaches of public order in Yerevan, Leninakan, and a number of other places and defiance of the authorities' legitimate demands, the 26 February Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum obliged the leaders of all soviet ispolkoms and administrative organs to use, where necessary, the powers invested in them to ensure the strictest observance of legality and public order throughout the republic's territory.

Familiarization with the state of affairs locally shows that the spreading rumors and fabrications about grave crimes and violations that have supposedly occurred have no real basis in fact.

Foreign Media 'Exploited' Events

NC080713 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian
0445 GMT 8 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] KOMMUNIST, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and KOMMUNIST in Armenian present to their readers a long article by (Bargarov), doctor for economic sciences and director of the Social Sciences Research Center of the Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences, entitled: Who Is

Inflaming Passions? The article examines how foreign news media have exploited the events in the republic recently and how they are using them to undermine the friendship of the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union.

Armenians Call 'Nationwide Strike'

LD081110 Hamburg DPA in German 1025 GMT
8 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—The population of the Soviet Republic of Armenia will begin a 3-day nationwide strike next Thursday, according to well informed human rights circles in Moscow. Today the Armenians remembered the victims of the unrest over the past few weeks with a commemoration march in Yerevan, the capital of their republic. The Armenian organizing committee, which decided on the strike after a discussion, has informed the party leadership in Moscow about the strike in a telegram.

According to the latest figures around 180 people died in the Azerbaijan city of Sumgait, Valeriy Senderov, spokesman for the Moscow group of the International Society for Human Rights, announced. The number of injured in other cities and regions was around 1,000. [passage omitted]

Armenians who have fled from Azerbaijan to Moscow have stated that the dead were for the most part Armenians. The "massacre" in Sumgait was partially started by Azerbaijanis from outside. The municipal militia did not intervene. Later a curfew was imposed on the city. The presence of soldiers has so far not been officially confirmed.

The reports of the large number of dead has apparently further aggravated the already tense situation in Armenia. [passage omitted]

In Moscow today around 350 Armenians remembered the victims of the unrest at the Armenian cemetery. Eye-witnesses of the bloody clashes in the Caucasus described their experiences, some of them with tears in their eyes. Photos of the mass demonstrations of the last few weeks were shown.

Some speakers complained of the brutality of the militia and the soldiers sent in. The reporting of the Soviet media was also criticized. The Armenians were not provocateurs, as was said in Soviet reports. "We only want our rights." Around 50 police observed the demonstration from a distance at the start and then withdrew.

Sumgait Killings Described

AU081446 Paris AFP in English 1434 GMT
8 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, March 8 (AFP)—A pregnant Armenian woman had the fetus cut out of her womb during "systematic and brutal" killings of the Armenian minority in towns across the southern republic of Azerbaijan at the end of last month, according to first-hand accounts reported here Tuesday. [passage omitted]

Hundreds of Armenians had gathered at the Armenian cemetery to hear details of what they called a new "genocide" of the Armenian people. According to some of those present up to 100 people, all Armenians, were killed by bands of roving Azerbaijani youths on February 28 in Sumgait, north of the Azerbaijani capital of Baku. A villager living near Sumgait said he saw four Armenians killed after they were dragged from their homes in the village by the Azerbaijanis.

Other speakers said that Armenians had been killed, and their property vandalised, in other towns across the republic, including Kirovabad and Balajari. A curfew was still in force in Sumgait and Kirovabad, they said.

Soviet police were present at the entrance to the cemetery, but did not intervene as the meeting continued for more than 2 hours in the snow-covered graveyard.

Anti-Azerbaijani feeling ran high at the meeting, with speakers referring to the "pan-Turkish" and "Islamic" authorities in Azerbaijan as they recalled the 1915 massacres of Armenians by the Turks. The Armenians are Christians, while the Azeris are Shia Moslem.

Armenian Koryun Kagapitiyan read out a telegram which had been sent to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and signed by leading members of the Armenian community here. "We remember the genocide. We cannot be silent" about the current situation, the telegram said.

Another Armenian read a telegram which he proposed to send to Mr Gorbachev saying that the Armenian community in Moscow condemned the "act of genocide by the Azerbaijani Republic" against the Armenian population. The telegrams accused Soviet media in general, and TASS news agency in particular, of spreading "disinformation" about the situation in the neighbouring southern republics. [passage omitted]

"If we had real information, we wouldn't be here today," one Armenian said, noting that Soviet media had given details on an attack on the Soviet Embassy in Tehran, but "not a line" on the events in Sumgait. "There are Khomeinists there too," he said, referring to supporters of Iranian spiritual leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Participants at the meeting proposed to gather their own data on the victims in Azerbaijan.

Soviet official media waited six days before giving the first casualty toll from the Sumgait killings on February 28.

One speaker noted that in Yerevan on Tuesday, "all Armenian women are wearing black shawls" for the victims of the Azerbaijani killings. The women had pledged to hold a "day of mourning" in Yerevan, as the Soviet Union marks International Women's Day.

The crowd outside the church here spontaneously observed a moment's silence in memory of those who died in Azerbaijan.

Armenians in Yerevan were to decide Tuesday on whether to stage a 3-day strike from Thursday to press their demand for the return of Nagorno-Karabakh. [passage omitted]

Roundtable Held on Baltic Republics

*LD112116 Moscow TASS in English 2038 GMT
11 Feb 88*

[Text] Tallinn February 11 TASS—"We, Latvians and Estonians, are in a dual capacity here as we are guests with regard to our Estonian colleagues and we are hosts with regard to you, as we all represent a single union of sovereign states—the Soviet Union", Janis Peters, chairman of the Latvian Writers Union, told foreign journalists, participants in a round table conference sponsored by the NOVOSTI press agency.

A lively debate, in which representatives of the media of 12 countries, their Soviet colleagues and experts took part, focussed on the economic, political and social development of the Soviet Baltic republics from the end of past century to the present, about the dynamics of national processes in the Soviet republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The NOVOSTI press agency invited economists, historians, ecologists, philosophers and writers as experts to the conference in Tallinn.

Analysing the historic path covered by the Baltic peoples Estonian historian Toomas Kariahiarm emphasized that it was "precisely the 1917 October Revolution in Russia that opened the road to state sovereignty to the Baltic peoples". Even though the nations have formed by the end of the century, the Baltic peoples could not even dream of forming their national states in the framework of tsarist Russia and had to put up with the status of national rimlands of the empire. The very emergence of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian states, if only bourgeois ones, was the consequence of the principle of the right of nations to self-determination proclaimed by Lenin, the historian said.

The similarity of the historic roads of the peoples of the three Baltic republics, Latvian Jurist Nikolay Neilands said, stems from their geographic position, from similar conditions of economic and social development. This precisely has led to the victory of Soviet power in Latvia and Estonia in October-November 1917 and in Lithuania in December 1918, to its fall under the strikes of joint forces of national bourgeoisie and foreign intervention and to the restoration of Soviet power in 1940.

The restoration of Soviet power and the inclusion of the Baltic republics in the USSR gave a strong impetus to the speeding up of their economic development, said Lithuanian economist Vitautas Kinduris. The volume of their industrial output now supasses the 1940 level tens of

times. Experts noted that the allegations about "oppression" of the Baltic peoples in the USSR hold no water. These assertions are refuted by the high level of the development of national literature and art.

Soviet scientists and experts have not passed in silence the so-called blank spaces and negative moments in the history of the Baltic peoples which largely influenced the situation and national relations in the region. This refers to errors and crimes in the period of Stalin's personality cult and to those post-war years when the nationalists, mainly those who cooperated with the Hitlerites were fiercely resisting socialist transformations. Nationalists killed some 13,000 people in Lithuania alone. It is characteristic that extremist groups existing in the Baltic republics, declaring for the rehabilitation of "Stalinism's victims" class with them also those who are responsible for the death of 13,000 Lithuanians.

The discussion of the processes of perestroika now taking place in the USSR evoked much interest of those present. Estonian sociologist Clara Hallik emphasized that broad democratization of public life that started in the USSR creates the conditions for overcoming of negative tendencies in the economic and social life in the region. Decisions adopted by the government of the USSR on the initiative of the public and governments of Latvia and Estonia to give up the construction of the Daugavpils electric power station and refuse from the development of phosphorites in order to ensure the ecological balance and measures for the development of actual bilingualism, were cited as examples.

Soviet historians and experts answered numerous questions from foreign journalists.

Perestroika Discussed

PM041447 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9,
28 Feb 88 p 13

[Dmitriy Kazutin article: "Three Years Later—in Tallinn?"]

[Text] In a previous issue MOSCOW NEWS carried a report on a discussion by scholars, writers and public figures of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia sponsored by NOVOSTI Press Agency in Tallinn.

Thirty foreign journalists took part in the discussion. The first (mostly objective) reviews and comments have already appeared in the press. Their vocabulary markedly differs from that used a week before the round table by Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and the BBC, when reporting the gatherings in Tartu, timed to coincide with the 68th anniversary of the treaty between Soviet Russia and bourgeois Estonia, at which a small but vociferous group of nationalist-minded extremists tried to impart an anti-Soviet character to these gatherings.

Although the discussion at the Tallinn round table focused on the major issues of perestroika, the echo of the "Tartu events" could still be heard in the questions put by some of my foreign colleagues.

Steven Strasser, of NEWSWEEK, USA, asked: "What will perestroika give in the next two or three years? Is there a danger that the so-called extremist groups will enjoy popularity among definite parts of the population?"

Klara Hallik, assistant professor at the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute, a sociologist and recognized authority on national relations, gave the following reply: "What I am thinking about all the time now is whether we shall meet in two or three years' time, and how I will answer questions then. And what questions? If perestroika comes to a standstill, then not only national relations, but the fate of our whole society will take a tragic turn. So, as I see it, it is important, if not for everyone then at any rate for the overwhelming majority, to understand the real problems which we must come to grips with. It is very important for all of us to bring what we have started to fruition. That's why there can hardly be any question of extremist groups enjoying popularity."

The dialogue between Steven Strasser and Klara Hallik threw clear light on events, for me. I felt the movement of the times, or rather our movement in time, and suddenly came to understand that this six-hour-long discussion, the range of problems it covered, and its frank and open character were also some intermediate result of our movement or, if you like, our advance along the path of perestroika.

The discussion at the round table centred on all three of the Baltic Republics, but I'm writing more particularly about Estonia: its neighbours have similar problems, but Estonians were our kind hosts, so they should have priority.

Had I heard such a discussion two or three years ago, I would have thought it to be the work of some dissidents. Today, it is just a normal discussion of the difficult processes of renewal. What will it look like in another two or three years?

In his latest speeches Mikhail Gorbachev kept on repeating that the coming two, maybe three, years would be the most difficult, decisive and critical in a certain sense. Klara Hallik frankly admitted that she was not 100 per cent optimistic, so to speak, but that she had great hope. I am convinced that her "sceptical optimism" is far more reliable than the ostentatious cheerfulness which has so often been used to camouflage indifference and cynicism. It is immeasurably more productive than the "pessimism of Estonians" which, as I was told, is rooted in history, but which became particularly widespread during the time of stagnation.

I first came across the words—"pessimism of Estonians" in an article by Mart Kadastik, a popular journalist from the Tartu newspaper EDASI, and at first I refused to believe its author. Some 30 years ago I read *The Ice Book* by Juhan Smuul, an Estonian, and fell for the charm of its lyrical hero—a wise, cunning and courageous person. The author's sincerity was beyond all doubt, but the book didn't contain even a hint at pessimism. Now I think that the optimism of *The Ice Book* was generated by the atmosphere of the 20th CPSU Congress which, one should presume, spread into Estonia as well.

Then there came different times, which we call the times of stagnation, when the optimism began to disappear. And if I had personally encountered "Ryazan pessimism", or "Irkutsk pessimism", not to mention "Moscow pessimism", in the midst of which I lived from day to day, why then should we deny that Estonians, Lithuanians or Letts also have a right to it? But it seems to me that there is "more sorrow" in the pessimism of smaller nations.

Let us not deny that pessimism had historical roots in Estonia as well, and in the Baltic republics generally. Professor Toomas Karjaharm [name as published], D.Sc. (History), had something significant to say on this subject. "Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania," he said, "are small nations with a tough historical fate. Rivalry between the big powers had always been of the utmost importance in this region. On many occasions Estonians found themselves on the brink of disaster, both as a result of the Livonian war and after the Northern war. Within less than 30 years of this century, from 1917 till 1944, the Estonian people passed through two world wars, the civil war and four revolutions. Power in Estonia changed hands nine times."

Estonian society was also affected by other factors. Toomas Karjaharm said that the October Revolution enabled the Estonians to achieve self-determination and set up their own national states in November 1918—a bourgeois state, the Estonian Republic, and a Soviet state, the Estland Labour Commune. The bourgeoisie emerged victorious from the civil war and the bourgeois period ensured fairly stable development. When Soviet power was reestablished, Estonia did not lag behind the USSR economically or culturally, and even surpassed most union republics in the sphere of general education. If we add to this its sufficiently developed agriculture with a large variety of forms of peasant cooperation, it will be clear how close Estonia was after the reestablishment of Soviet power to that "system of civilized cooperators" which Lenin described as the system of socialism in 1923. But our system of administrative command which had taken final shape by the end of the 1930s, did not and could not take into account these "subtleties", these local peculiarities most favourable for socialism. Collectivization was carried out according to the common pattern. All other forms of cooperation were discarded. The result was a decline of the productive forces in the countryside and destabilization of social relations.

What "margin of safety" the Estonian peasant could have had if, even in the unfavourable conditions after the devastating war, the Estonian countryside had still managed to reach the prewar level of agricultural production by the early 1960s?

In recent years, the Estonians have felt ever more strongly the "pressure of migration". Answering a question from Harald Hamrin of Sweden's DAGENS NYHETER, Arvo Kuddo, an Estonian economist, said that since 1950 the Republic's population had increased by 56 per cent on account of migration. He stressed that this problem was no less acute, but in the opposite sense; and also for the regions (the Non-Black Earth Zone, for one) which migrants had left behind.

After the war, the Republic developed at a sufficiently fast pace. In terms of per capita industrial output it ranks second in the country, and in agricultural output it shares first and second place with Lithuania. But, for a long time, its development has been extensive, which could not help but generate social tension. Academician Jaan Rebane of the Estonian Academy of Sciences used cogent statistics to demonstrate the Estonians' active involvement in various fields of managerial, economic and cultural activities to disprove the theory that migration was a result of deliberate Russification. But he drew attention to several pressing problems caused by the excessive influx of people from outside the republic.

A migrant is a person "without the language". But the most numerous group of migrants—Russians—has been and remains a national minority in Estonia. However, until now the stress has been unambiguously put on the significance of the Russian language for Estonians. The academician did not want to underrate Russian, either for inter-nation communication or for giving Estonians access to world culture. Ninety per cent of Estonians, he said, speak Russian, 30 per cent of them fluently. But only 30 per cent of non-Estonians have some command of the Estonian language, and only 12 per cent speak it fluently.

A migrant is a person "without roots". Hence the problem of interaction between cultures. To all intents and purposes, no one has ever given a thought to introducing non-Estonians seriously to Estonian culture. The whole point has been complicated by the fact that the cultural level of some of the migrants was fairly low.

All of this led to disunity between both groups of the population, misunderstandings and frictions. There arose purely Russian and purely Estonian work collectives. This did not help bring people closer together or disperse national prejudices. The thought that true internationalism and true friendship of the peoples are possible only given profound respect for the dignity, honour, culture, language and history of every people, a thought voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the recent plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, seems particularly meaningful in this context.

Finally, a migrant is a young person. The average age of Estonians is higher and the birthrate among them is lower. The republic's national structure is changing at a rapid pace. It is estimated that by the year 2000 Estonians will comprise 56-57 per cent of Estonia's population. And this does not make for any optimism.

Listening to all of this, I recalled Moscow's "limitchik" (migrant work force) problem, surprisingly similar, except in one thing—the Moscow problem has no national colouring. It applies merely to the "quality of the population"—a new term given currency by Lenin-grad sociologists. In Estonia all of this has been acquiring precisely this national colouring.

Such are the "bricks" which, as I see it, have been used to build the words: "pessimism of Estonians". Is it possible to get cured of it or overcome it? This is what Toomas Karjaharm had to say at the round table: "The processes of renewal in our republic have given a new vigour to the people as well. They now openly express their opinion, voice their views on different problems—national, economic and political—put forward alternative ideas, and engage in the search for optimal solutions to these problems."

During the course of perestroika, Professor Karjaharm believed, three forces have come into confrontation: active, convinced supporters of renewal, dogmatically-minded conservatives and, as the Tartu newspaper EDASI called them, "Estonians by profession"—small, but vociferous groups of extremists.

Sylvie Kauffmann, of LE MONDE, Paris, asked: "Whom do you include among extremists? Why do you fear them in this period of perestroika?"

N. Neylands, a Latvian lawyer, journalist and diplomat, replied to this question: "Much can be said about perestroika, but the main thing is that we are no longer frightened... There are malcontents in every republic, and among the malcontents there are those who dislike the socialist system, but the overwhelming majority are in favour of socialism. You represent the French press and should know well that if the same number of persons 'rebels' somewhere in France or Britain or Sweden, they are simply ignored."

Toomas Karjaharm took a look at the problem from one more angle: "The opponents of perestroika—dogmatists and bureaucrats—have tried to use these big mouths to discredit this process, glasnost and socialist pluralism, and to attach a separatist label to ideas which have nothing in common with separatism."

Ulo Tuulik, an Estonian writer and traveller, summed up the result: "In the final analysis, the main thing is not whether you are a Lett, Estonian or Russian. If we all live together in peace, the main thing for a person is to achieve high standards in terms of culture and education. All our problems today are linked to this."

Let me return to the beginning of these notes. What will I think when rereading the verbatim report of this round table in some two or three years' time? Probably that it was not as bold, profound or interesting as it seemed; that we knew more about what we didn't need than about what we needed; that little attention was given by the participants to the key element—starting economic reform; that there can be no "separate" perestroika, that what is at stake is society's radical renewal, bearing in mind that Soviet society—despite all its national and regional peculiarities—is a single entity. And if the process of democratization comes to a halt, say, in Armenia, Estonia cannot count on its full success.

And yet in Tallinn we said things you could not say a mere two or three years before. When a problem has been identified, the first step has been taken towards its solution. Perhaps, there is really a point in meeting again in Tallinn three years later?

Authorities Tolerate Anti-Stalin Demonstration *AU071440 Paris AFP in English 1430 GMT* *7 Mar 88*

[Anne Penketh report]

[Text] Moscow, March 7 (AFP)—Soviet security forces massed Monday in a Moscow park where some 50 demonstrators carrying candles and red carnations staged a silent march in memory of the victims of Stalinism.

City Communist Party authorities had banned Monday's demonstration in Krasnopresnenskiy park, but security officials, who outnumbered the demonstrators by at least two to one, only intervened in the closing moments.

The official attitude was in marked contrast to Sunday, when the security forces, with the help of snow ploughs, broke up a similar demonstration calling for the "total de-Stalinisation of society" as the protesters unfurled their banners in a central Moscow square.

According to one organiser of Sunday's demonstration, Yuriy Mitiyunov, about half of the 40 protesters were arrested. Five were given prison sentences of up to 15 days, while others were fined, he said.

Both demonstrations had been called by unofficial Moscow clubs to coincide with the 35th anniversary of Stalin's death (on March 5, 1953).

On Monday, police and city officials only intervened as the demonstrators began lighting their candles and laying the flowers around a black pyramid they placed in a snowy dip.

The demonstrators also laid near the pyramid red-and-black paintings of a Stalin-like figure beside a gallows, after marching round the snow-covered park for 15 minutes followed by about 10 Western reporters and security officials carrying walkie-talkies.

Soviet dissident journalist Lev Timofeyev, who was among the demonstrators, told AFP that the two-foot-high pyramid was in the shape of a monument that Moscow activists want erected in memory of the millions of victims of forced collectivisation and purges under Stalin.

The party officials began blowing out the candles and told the demonstrators to disperse, but did not object when the demonstrators observed a minute's silence before peacefully filing out of the park.

Mr. Timofeyev said that the authorities had tolerated Monday's demonstration because the protesters had not shouted slogans, carried banners and disrupted traffic.

Education Ministries Abolished; Replaced

*LD081032 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 8 Mar 88*

[Text] Here is a report which has literally been brought in this minute. We have received a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on the creation of the union-republican USSR State Committee for Public Education [Gosudarstvennyy Komitet SSSR po Narodnomu Obrazovaniyu]. The Ministry of Education, Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education have been abolished.

Prison Sentence for 'Treason' Delivered

*AU041219 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
25 Feb 88 p 3*

[Report by RATAU correspondents S. Gasan and N. Stolyarov in Selidovo, Donetsk Oblast: "Punishment Has Reached the Traitor"—boldface as published]

[Excerpts] The trial of a traitor to the fatherland has ended in a small town in Donetsk Oblast, Selidovo. D.I. Maslo, the defendant, is an elderly man, but in the remote years of the fascist invasion was a policeman and fascist hanger-on who zealously served the occupiers.

Having betrayed his people, he in occupied Selidovka swore allegiance to the new masters. "In joining the ranks of the great German Army, I volunteer to carry out all orders and instructions of the German Command..." These terrible words he repeated along with renegades and traitors like him. [passage omitted]

The field session of Donetsk Oblast court has completed the hearings and has sentenced D. Maslo to 15 years' imprisonment for treason. The audience in the hall, as

well as the inhabitants of Selidovo and of many neighboring localities, who gathered in front of the town club, received the sentence with approval.

Punishment has reached D. Maslo after many years. But the Donbass public also remembers those who, having left their bloody traces in this country, have not been punished to this day, and who hide abroad. At their crowded meetings, the Soviet people have resolutely and repeatedly demanded that war criminals who have found refuge in the West be extradited. Ranking among those criminals are Ivan Dik, former Selidovo police deputy chief; punishers Vasilii Babenko and Fedor Dmitriyev, all three who settled in Canada. Several years ago, the USSR Procurator's Office produced in the appropriate Canadian organs irrefutable evidence of the crimes perpetrated by those renegades. However, those overseas have remained deaf to Soviet public opinion.

The position assumed by the Government of Canada, as well as by the parliaments and governments of other Western countries in which war criminals hide from punishment, contradicts the generally accepted norms and accords, and is an outrage to the memory of the victims of fascism.

Novodevichiy Monastery, Cemetery Tours To Begin

*LD041200 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 4 Mar 88*

[Excerpt] The first tour for visitors who want to learn about the history of one of the most interesting monuments to the architecture of the past, the Novodevichiy Monastery, is scheduled for 7 March. This is a new public service. For a long time the Novodevichiy Cemetery [Khrushchev's burial place] was completely closed to visitors, and trips around the Novodevichiy Monastery only took place on a preliminary request from organizations. Now anyone wishing to can go on "the 16th Century" tour. [passage omitted]

Peace Movement Spokesman Delivers Report

*LD041334 Moscow TASS in English 1232 GMT
4 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—"Soviet peace advocates are seeking to participate actively both in implementing the country's foreign policy and in its drafting, said author Genrikh Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee (SPC). Today he delivered the report "Place and Tasks of Soviet Peace Movement in the Process of Perestroyka" at the plenary meeting of the SPC and the board of the Soviet Peace Fund.

"The headquarters of Soviet peace advocates formed at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s put as its aim broad publicity among the public of the peaceful policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government. Regrettably, in the years of stagnation its activities displayed elements of formalism, overorganization and a shortage of creative

initiative. Now the task is to restore and strengthen the prestige of the peace committee inside and outside the country," said Genrikh Borovik.

In this connection the SPC chairman pointed to the great importance of open discussion of issues of peace and foreign policy and called for concentrating efforts on stepping up creative activities of 138 republican, territorial and regional peace committees, peace fund branches, discussion clubs and independent associations and amalgamations.

"Foreign policy stops being a province of professionals, and people's diplomacy is intruding more actively this sphere," said the reporter. "The recent public hearings at the Soviet Peace Committee within ratification of the INF Treaty are graphic evidence of this." Close interaction with public groups engaged in cultural, enlightenment and humanitarian activities in the spirit of peace (Retired Generals And Admirals For Peace, Ecology and Peace, Peace To Children Of The World, Conversion and others) will help broaden the social base of the Soviet peace movement, noted Genrikh Borovik in conclusion.

'Dramatis Personae' Program Highlighted

LD041141 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 3 February carries the new "Dramatis Personae" program, this week written and presented by Vladislav Konovalov. The 45-minute program documents the efforts of Konovalov to clear the name of Rustan Usulimanov, a 19-year-old student wrongly labeled a drug addict.

Konovalov explains that he received a phone call from Usulimanov who related some time ago he had betrayed a friend, become depressed over it, and decided to attempt suicide by taking an overdose of sleeping pills. The attempt failed and while in the hospital Usulimanov was diagnosed as a drug addict with psychopathic tendencies. Branded an "unreliable character," Usulimanov later lost his job as a Leningrad trolley driver.

The video shows Konovalov holding conversations with the boy, with officials at his school, with doctors who examined him, and with a Leningrad specialist on drug addiction who, having examined the boy at the program's request, pronounces that he is not a drug addict and shows no signs of psychopathic tendencies. According to the specialist there has been a medical error, perhaps due to medical incompetence.

As the program progresses Konovalov is shown confronting various teaching and medical personnel, challenging them to justify their earlier assessments of the boy. Some of these retract their earlier assessments, while the director of the school is forced to admit that she pronounced the boy a junkie simply from looking at

a photograph of him. Konovalov concludes by suggesting that such treatment by adults inevitably leads to widespread cynicism among young people.

At 1420 GMT on 10 February the station carries another 45-minute installment of "Dramatis Personae," this week profiling the efforts of a young Pavlodar worker, Pavel Likhachev, who has been waging a 2-year campaign to alert public opinion to the dangers of a planned biochemical works in the town.

The presenter explains that during his leave, Likhachev went to the town of Kirishi where a similar works has caused serious environmental concern and has been recognized by the USSR Ministry of Health as detrimental to public health. Back in Pavlodar, a series of street interviews shows most people to be only mildly concerned about the proposed project. An urban planning specialist, however, maintains that environmental pollution has already reached dangerous proportions in the town.

A colleague of Likhachev is then interviewed, lauding Likhachev's personal qualities and praising glasnost for making the program possible. Likhachev is shown discussing the matter with local party committee second secretary who, in response to Likhachev's relating of the events in Kirishi, claims that the protests there were instigated by a small group of "extremists." An engineer familiar with Likhachev and his efforts says that he is convinced that in the new conditions, only "nonaccommodating" people like Likhachev can achieve anything with the authorities.

The presenter ends the program by announcing that the project has been called off and that the local press has begun discussing environmental issues.

At 1505 GMT on 16 February Moscow television airs the first of a two-part installment of "Dramatis Personae," both 45 minutes in length, about the Zagorsk Home for deaf and blind children. Part one opens by showing a film entitled "Contact," which gives a picture of what it is like to grow up in the Soviet Union with a physical or mental handicap. There then follows a discussion of the film in a hall full of people, many of whom are deaf, dumb, or blind. Various members give their impressions of the film and their thoughts about care for the disabled. One speaker points out that KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has helped to establish a fund to help the Zagorsk Home.

The following day at 1450 GMT part two of this installment is shown. The program focuses on efforts to teach a deaf and blind girl to speak. The program concludes with shots of the crowded conditions at the home and unfinished construction projects. A KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reporter and some administrators of the home discuss the problems faced by the home.

Roundtable Debates Press, Restructuring

*PM031239 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88
Second Edition p 3*

[PRAVDA "Round Table" discussion led by Yu. Makh-rin: "The Press and Restructuring"; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The republican and local press occupies a prominent place in the press. How has it joined in restructuring and does it always have enough principledness and militancy? Do the party committees make skilled use of the newspapers—those powerful levers of glasnost and democracy? But the main thing now, as the CPSU Central Committee plenum noted recently, is to advance the business of restructuring, analyzing its problems and positive results.

That is the theme of the PRAVDA "roundtable" talk with newspaper editors.

Leader: Journalists today are faced with complex tasks. Above all promoting the processes of democratization and advancing questions connected with the assimilation of economic reform. At the same time the editorial collectives themselves must be restructured. What is being successfully achieved and what is not, and why? What new and interesting things have appeared in your newspapers recently?

L. Kayumov, editor of the republican newspaper SOVET UZBEKISTONI: The negative phenomena which have occurred in the life of Uzbekistan have left an unpleasant mark on the pages of our newspaper: ostentation, trumpeting, "stormy, unending applause." And all around there have been abuses of power, window dressing... As a result we journalists have lost the readers' trust. How to win it back? Above all by loyalty to the truth of life, however bitter. And who knows this truth better than our main correspondent—the readers? No one! We have given people access to the platform that is our newspaper. It is becoming the mouthpiece of public opinion, the "voice" of the people. We provide selections of letters, reviews, and sometimes whole pages.

Our mail has increased considerably. That is evidence that honest, frank talk generates a response from readers that is just as sincere and confiding.

"I agree that there is a direct natural law here: The press has finally begun to talk about the most stirring, topical subjects with anguish and anger—and immediately the flow of readers' letters has increased," H. Kayeta, editor of the Sverdlovsk Oblast newspaper URALSKIY RABO-CHIIY, joined in the conversation. "About 80,000 people sent letters to the editorial office in 1987. An enormous intellectual potential! A mine of opinions! Naturally, we are also giving the 'green light' to letters.

"The newspaper's circulation has 'soared' to 620,000. I should say immediately that the editorial office has not been tempting its readers with sensations or providing gloating details of the 'white dance' [allusion unknown] and has not been luring and diverting them with 'long running' detective serials. The newspaper has been seeking to show life as it is."

"Forgive me for interrupting you. I wanted to add to the talk about loyalty to the truth of life," A. Laurinchukas, editor of the Lithuanian republican newspaper TIESA, said. "I recently received a letter from an American in which he wrote: We can have dealings with you but on condition—Americans always have conditions!—that you eliminate the blank spots in Lithuania's history.

"Well, we TIESA journalists are seeking to do this. But there are not only blank spots but also black spots in history. They were left by those who wanted to halt the progress of history. An example.

"In 1926 a fascist coup took place in Lithuania. A dictator took power. The prisons were overflowing. Communists were executed.

"Famine broke out. People began to emigrate to Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay. They became social outcasts there. And we are being advised not to bring up these black spots but to forget about them. But that is not the truth of life. It is falsehood!"

G. Kayeta: What to restructure and how and where to accelerate? In as much as since April 1985 many central newspapers have raised the "sword of criticism," we have immediately taken it up. The editorial office secretariat had no time to take on the "hot" shells and cartridges. They were brought along by all journalists, including those who had previously served well behind the lines.

There is no doubt that the cleansing fire of glasnost is very necessary and that criticism must be developed. But not with a view to discrediting and sowing nihilist disarray but to accomplish creative deeds. Surely newspapermen have no more important task now than mobilizing working people to the fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums? Readers expect from us a graphic and persuasive description of how restructuring is proceeding locally and how new methods of economic administration and self management are being assimilated.

Leader: Readers are keeping an attentive watch on how the press is being restructured. Here is a letter from Tyumen Oblast. V. Polishchuk, a lecturer at the Tobolsk Pedagogical Institute, believes: "All the innovation in the press has come down to exposing individual officials and revealing shortcomings in their work. By acting in this way the press is not promoting the main thing required by life: the restructuring of awareness, the

development of self awareness. The front of the struggle for restructuring passes through each one of us and consequently responsibility for it lies with each of us: with the leader and the subordinate. I think the press could do a lot to ensure just such a restructuring of awareness."

G. Kayeta: That is why alongside items discussing difficulties and shortcomings in the work of the collectives, articles about the specific experience of restructuring have started to be published in our newspaper. A "Debating Club," "Youth Problems Bureau," and "Oblast Leaders on a Direct Line" have appeared in URALSKIY RABOCHIY.

V. Nikitin, editor of the Orenburg Oblast newspaper YUZHNY URAL:

Talking with the first secretary of a rural party raykom recently, I let slip the editorial office's intention to abandon the publication of production summaries. My interlocutor protested: Summaries, he said, are very interesting material for a raykom secretary.

In general YUZHNY URAL is continuing regularly to publish summaries on the progress of livestock raising produce procurements and on other rural operations and in addition gives commentaries on them. Perhaps our planned attack on operational summaries was wrong in principle? By no means! I am convinced that it is indeed a dying form of newspaper item. Ultimately it should share the fate of all publications which turn the pages of the press into production bulletins, technological schemes, and directives on how to plow and sow.

YUZHNY URAL has abandoned its editorials which sinned excessively in their use of directive-type language. Instead we have turned to the "journalist's column" which makes it possible to reach the reader's mind and heart more reliably and to initiate dialogue with him. Increasingly frequently we publish sharply critical letter selections on the front page. We have introduced a "Dialogue" page. Items are increasingly emphasizing the convincing nature of arguments.

But we must ascertain why oblast and to an even greater extent city and rayon newspapers are excessively "technological." Surely it is not only because of cadres' poor qualifications that they often speak peremptorily and teach specialists how to manage production processes? Of course, the economy should be the focus of newspapers' attention. But showing how the economy's restructuring is proceeding today and how the urgent tasks of the 12th 5-Year Plan are being resolved must be done through people, through their attitude toward matters.

We cannot fail to see that the press has become an inalienable element of the predominantly administrative system of management of the economy which has taken

shape in the oblast. This explains the involvement of local newspapers, which stand close to the enterprises, in the solution of current economic tasks.

But a radical economic reform is under way. It is obvious to me that the introduction of the new economic mechanism and the further democratization of life are key factors in restructuring the press itself and in changing its nature. A broad panorama of social processes is opening up before it. Formerly these processes often slipped from journalists' view.

A mouthpiece delivering infallible truths gradually becomes an instrument for the accumulation of the people's initiative and the experience of party organizations in restructuring. In my opinion the press' main concern now is to actively join in preparation for the 19th all-union party conference.

V. Kucher, editor of the city newspaper MAGNITOGORSKIY RABOCHIY:

What should a newspaper be like? The editorial office put this question to readers. Many replies were received. The newspaper has received compliments but several letters contain the words: "We do not believe you." What is the matter? In my view one reason is that, in using the floodgates opened wide to criticism, we have begun to reveal problems and to pile them up, sometimes setting unrealistic tasks.

In general readers noted a distortion in our work: We expose the same shortcomings over and over again instead of "digging" deep into phenomena. We must change our attitude.

Leader: Are you succeeding in holding debates in the newspaper and comparing different viewpoints?

F. Ignatov, editor of the republican newspaper KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA:

The possibility of debate presupposes an opinion frequently different from the opinion of the party committee. That's where it begins... Once someone has a particular opinion, the response is: Where do you think you're going, dear comrades!

The possibility of debate in the newspaper is being powerfully impeded by the stance of the people who read it. They believe that once it has published something, that is its opinion and the opinion of the party committee of which it is an organ. It is... no, not responses, but denunciations which come flying at the newspaper.

Until this stereotyped interpretation of published items is overcome we can only dream of the variety of opinions in the newspaper.

A. Trutnev, editor of the Kemerovo Oblast newspaper KUZBASS:

In the past 2 years we have conducted several debates. About the work of agitation display areas, for instance. We even asked: Are these display areas necessary today? This question gave rise to a storm of indignation among ideologists. Of course, the editor got into trouble with these ideologists.

Readers' letters arrived. We published three selections of the most diverse opinions. But unfortunately we were not allowed to complete this debate. The obkom secretary for ideology said: "There's been enough undermining of the most important methods of work at places of residence!" In general terms, they closed down glasnost.

What else is preventing the newspaper from improving? The reaction to sharply worded publications. What a row is stirred up sometimes! They start accusing us of chasing after sensation and "spicy facts."

Leader: They also accuse us of more serious "sins." The newspaper NOVAYA KOLYMA—the organ of the Srednekanskiy CPSU Raykom—is considered to be one of the most militant, keenest, and most interesting in Magadan Oblast. Which was why it was awarded the USSR Journalists Union's M.I. Ulyanova prize. Fighting for restructuring, the rayon newspaper levelled criticism without respect of persons, as they say. The law enforcement organs also got what they deserved. And that cost the journalists dear: Servants of Themis appeared in the editorial office and sealed up the safe and "arrested" and took away documents. Criminal proceedings were instigated—to serve as a warning to the journalists. It was a good thing that MAGADANSKAYA PRAVDA came to their defense.

G. Kayeta:

A newspaper which lags behind has died. A press organ should move forward. These comments of Lenin's are topical today.

On 4 November, when the ceremonial meeting to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October was held in Sverdlovsk, URALSKIY RABOCHIY published the following story. Seamstresses had issued an "ultimatum" to the city authorities. For two 5-year plans they had been promising them a new building because the old one was in ruins. For two 5-year plans they had been promised and they were even shown the building in which they were told the first floor would be theirs. The building was constructed and suddenly there was a rumor that it would be handed over for the commission of the future all-union census. A delegation of women went to the raykom, rayispolkom, gorispolkom, and party gorkom. And no one would talk to them. Then they hired a truck, loaded all their goods and chattels onto it, drove there, and occupied the first floor of the building...

Of course, the newspaper article shook the party gorkom and gorispolkom. But the party obkom supported us. The culprits were punished, and punished severely.

P. Novikov, editor of the oblast newspaper RADYANSKA DONECHCHINA:

About something new in the journalists' workshop. In my opinion our editorial office was the first in the country to hold elections for all department chiefs. This democratic form of promoting cadres is also becoming the norm in the newspaper VOROSHILOVGRADSKAYA PRAVDA and SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONBASS...

Replies: "And with us," "and with us too..."

Leader: So the republican and local press is being restructured. But PRAVDA's mail contains many rebukes of the following kind: "Our oblast newspaper is as different from the central papers as chalk and cheese." And similar criticism is voiced in the press.

People's Artist of the USSR Mikhail Ulyanov writes: "I often visit the oblasts and observe the reticence, a kind of complaisance, in the local press. Moreover, pressure is sometimes brought to bear on a newspaper because some leaders have grown used to seeing the mass media as eulogistic mouthpieces." Can you not reply to this critical comment?

Reply: That question is like throwing a log on the fire!

Ye Kulagin, editor of the Aktyubinsk Oblast newspaper PUT K KOMMUNIZMU:

I would say that it is not so much a log on the fire as rubbing salt into wounds.

On the one hand, we are restructuring ourselves. Whether we are doing this sufficiently or not is another question. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that our quest comes up against resistance. For instance, we have instituted a "hot line." What is it? People telephone to talk about topical problems and then the newspaper seeks answers to the questions they have put. We have opened a new rubric: "Dialogue Between Interested People: Leaders and Readers." They asked the oblistpolkom chairman to take part in a dialogue. People prepared their questions. At first the chairman agreed to answer them, but when he found out that he would have to deal with inhabitants directly over the telephone, a refusal followed. The meeting did not take place.

The problem of mutual relations with the party committee whose organ we are is very perturbing. How does the party leadership of the newspaper often look in our oblast? The obkom instructor telephones: "There's a mission for you." Then the deputy department chief, then the chief, and, finally, the secretary for propaganda. And although the mission seems to be the same, they all "present" it differently, contradicting each other. Moreover they introduce such regimentation—they almost mark out the paragraphs in the unwritten article.

O. Yakimov, editor of the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA YAKUTIYA:

We are talking of party leadership of the press and saying that bureaucracy is a hindrance. But bureaucracy also exists in our own midst. And, that is inevitable, we have brought to restructuring, some of us more, some of us less, much that is from the time of stagnation. How are we to restructure ourselves and our newspaper?

About party leadership of the press. There are enough forms of all kinds here. Everything, it seems, is being done. But, you must understand, it is being done in the old way. Life has become more dynamic and that also determines the work of editorial offices. Here operational leadership comes to the fore. Yet many party committees are quite reluctant to understand this. They have seized on a semi-official organ and cling to it: Some meeting has been held, something has been approved, people have been relieved of their duties... The party committee workers must put a stake on informal communication with journalists, and not only on communication at a table covered in red bunting.

Leader: We know from journalists' letters that the first secretaries of the Ryazan and Kemerovo CPSU Obkoms regularly meet with them directly in the editorial offices. But in Turkmenistan the leaders of many party committees do not even know where the editorial office is. Such diametrically opposed attitudes...

O. Yakimov: As a whole we cannot complain about our obkom. The first secretary does visit us. But one leading comrade once asked me: But who is your deputy? He must have close contacts with the editorial office!

N. Popkhadze, editor of the Georgian republican newspaper KOMMUNIST:

Every Monday morning the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary holds a conference of secretaries, department chiefs, and party newspaper editors. Here we receive first-hand information, so to speak. The Central Committee secretaries meet once a month with the press leaders. We exchange opinions and coordinate joint actions.

I cannot say that everything is going smoothly. I will note that after all much also depends on the editor and his character.

Leader: A journalist has the right to information. But what happens in real life?

An oblast seminar on economic questions was under way on the "Lazarevskiy" Sovkhoz, Shcheinkskiy Rayon, Tula Oblast. In the auditorium was veteran journalist P. Uvarov, who works in the agricultural section of KOMMUNAR and who was invited there by the obkom officials. But when the gathering began to discuss this question on the agenda the chairman—obkom secretary

D. Yesakov—interrupted the next speaker and asked the correspondent to leave. He was about to stay when a terrible cry rang out: "Get out, get out!" In brief, he was shown the door.

What secrets was the obkom secretary protecting from the party journalist? There was a discussion of the article "They Tried, They Worked, but They Had the Reputation of Scroungers," published in SELSKAYA ZHIZN. These were the kind of "secrets" which an oblast newspaper employee should not know.

Replies: This lesson taught by the obkom secretary was intended not only for the journalist but also for the raykom and gorkom secretaries sitting in the auditorium. That is how we should deal with newspapermen, he was saying, let them know their place...

Leader: S. Saltybayev from Belovodskoye village, Moskovskiy Rayon, in Kirghizia writes that editorial offices often sanitize the mail before publishing it to such an extent that an idea fades away and dies and it is only the reader's signature which remains authentic and true.

Replies: "You've hit the nail on the head," "yes, letters are 'polished,'" "here restructuring has only had a feeble effect on the local press editorial offices," "I have forbidden the amendment of anything in letters except for grammatical mistakes."

From the editorial office. The abundant mail and serious rebukes leveled against many papers prompted us to invite republican and local press editors to the PRAVDA "roundtable" session. Answers have been given to most questions. Are the letters' authors satisfied with them? On the threshold of the 19th party conference we invite readers, editors, and other newspaper workers to continue the talk which has been initiated.

Photo of Disabled Afghan Veteran on Front Page

PM061831 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 24 February 1988 in its Second Edition publishes on the front page, under the headline "Our Contemporary," a 5.5 by 8 inch picture of a young man leaning on a gate with a small child at his side in a snowy landscape. The caption, signed A. Kleshchuk, reads:

"He returned home from Afghanistan, having fulfilled his international duty with honor. The Order of the Red Star on his chest, and crutches in his hands. At that time many people at the '21 Syezd KPSS' Kolkhoz in Vileyskiy Rayon, Minsk Oblast, where Petr Petrashevich had worked before he joined the army, thought: The guy is finished. He has done with serving, fighting, and plowing. But Petr himself did not want to believe this. His hands were yearning for work, he wanted to be out in the fields where people were sowing, plowing, and harvesting... Who would have believed that in less than 2 years he would again be handling a powerful tractor?"

"Petr asked specialists at the Minsk tractor plant to build him a special tractor with hand controls. And although the Minsk tractor builders had never had such an order, they willingly agreed. During a subbotnik the plant's Komsomol members assembled the tractor for Petrashevich. Outwardly it does not differ in any way from the usual MTZ-82 models, except for a red star on the windscreen which indicates that it belongs to an internationalist serviceman.

"During these winter days Petr Petrashevich is thinking about the next harvest. Just like his comrades, he is taking manure to the fields, transporting peat, and taking straw to livestock units. And he is preparing the plows for work. Spring is coming soon.

"Ordinary farming chores. But they are precisely what makes the courageous rural worker Petr Petrashevich happy, they are what he is living for.

"The picture shows P. Petrashevich with son Ruslan by his house."

Economic

Lease Contract Becomes 'Minor Sensation'

PM071339 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 88
Morning Edition p 2

[M. Krushinskiy article under the "Problems and Opinions" rubric: "Collective Becomes Owner of Plant After Leasing it From State"]

[Text] Another "minor sensation" in our economy. The lease contract, hitherto introduced only in some agricultural, trade, and consumer services enterprises, is advancing into industry.

The collective of the Butovskiy construction materials combine, located on the very outskirts of Moscow and administratively subject to the Moscow Oblast Main Construction Materials Industry Administration, has volunteered to test this innovation. The combine, which produces brick, foam plastic, and water glass, was a loss-making venture until 1984, when it joined the ranks of those making a small profit before eventually becoming a pacesetter in its sector. But nobody there was satisfied with the existing state of affairs.

The plant grounds contained garbage-strewn vacant lots, hastily assembled production premises, shops with sagging roof beams and dilapidated equipment, some of which was pretty primitive... Nothing at all had been spent on retooling at the combine for a long time, nor were any capital investments expected in the near future...

"We didn't want to live off the state any longer," Director M. Bocharov said. "But the traditional reserves for growth were exhausted, a fundamentally new

approach was needed. Restructuring makes that possible, makes it possible to lease the shops and machine tools from the state and assume complete responsibility. Our calculations show that production could be doubled in 5 years without any state subsidies..."

They were helped in their calculations by the country's most prestigious specialists in leasing contracts from the USSR Gosplan's Economics Research Institute. This is what Professor V. Rutgayzer, doctor of economic sciences and the leader of that group of scientists, said:

"The leasing of fixed production capital from the state supplements and develops the second model of economic accountability envisaged by the Law on the State Enterprise. Under this system the commitments of the labor collective and the state (in the person of a higher economic organization) are defined by contract. The contract establishes the fixed sum out of a collective's earnings (with, as a rule, a gradual increase) which it is required to hand over to the state. The residue constitutes the economically accountable income which the 'lessee' uses as it sees fit, channeling resources into labor remuneration, into increasing and renewing fixed capital, and into tackling social problems. The switch to a leasing contract gives an enormous initial boost—with an immediate 30-60 percent increase in efficiency—since people have a direct interest in achieving the maximum results for minimum outlay and are no longer trammelled by formal budgetary requirements..."

The initiative was backed by the Moscow Oblispolkom and the Moscow Party Obkom. There remained one more authority, one which, let us not beat around the bush, has quite often caused innovations to come to grief. But the 'Butovskiy idea' was seemingly born under a lucky star. A. Antonov, the young chief of the Moscow Oblast branch of the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development, not only backed the venture but also decided to participate in it, assuming part of the responsibility and risk.

"After all, we too are operating on an economically accountable basis. We ourselves have an interest in inflow, in the rapid turnover of money, and, consequently, in the dynamic development of enterprises. That is why we are prepared to help the combine study the market competition, assess business partners' financial viability, and also to support its moves financially. Of course, the appropriate assessment does not come free..."

The country already has experience in creating a socialist consortium—I refer those wanting to refresh their memory of the details to an article that appeared in IZVESTIYA No 346 last December. There is scarcely any need to be afraid of terms, unusual in the Soviet context, like "fusion of bank and industrial capital." Everything benefiting the socialist economy and restructuring is to the good.

I have in front of me the newly signed "Contract of Conditions Pertaining to the Organization of Production and Material Incentives Between the Moscow Oblspolkom Main Administration of the Construction Materials Industry and the Collective of the Butovskiy Construction Materials Combine." We will perhaps only fully appreciate the significance of this at first glance modest document in the future, since it opens a new page in economic relations in industry.

It cannot be said that the drafting of the individual clauses of the contract went very smoothly. The initial text had points which impeded the combine workers' initiative and put in doubt their right to freely dispose of their income. Due credit must be paid both to the persistence of the industrial workers and to the flexibility of the leaders of the main administration, which here acted on behalf of the state. The sides' reciprocal commitments are set out clearly and unequivocally. The fixed capital is transferred to the combine collective's temporary ownership until 1995. The lease contract has received its right to existence.

"We support this form of economic relations," said B. Krekov, chief of the main administration. "We will be introducing it into other enterprises."

The Butovskiy workers' decision promises quite a lot of benefits to the economy as a whole, since it directly answers the question of how to deal with the economically "weak" under conditions of general economic accountability: Give them the initiative! IZVESTIYA intends to keep close tabs on the experiment and to keep readers informed.

Machine Building Priority in Restructuring

PM041053 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 88
First Edition p 2

[Interview with A. Volskiy, CPSU Central Committee Machine Building Department chief: "A Key Sector"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Elaborating the concept of restructuring, the CPSU Central Committee singled out the development of machine building as a priority area in the intensification of the economy. A.I. Volskiy, CPSU Central Committee Machine Building Department chief, replying to questions posed by PRAVDA correspondent V. Parfenov, describes the implementation of restructuring in this key national economic complex.

[Parfenov] Arkadiy Ivanovich, what new developments have emerged in the work of machine building during the post-April period, how vigorously has restructuring advanced in this sphere?

[Volskiy] Just as in all other spheres of our life, the changes taking place here are quite profound. As is well known, the CPSU Central Committee June (1986) Plenum approved a program for the modernization of

machine building. Truly unprecedented targets in the history of machine building were set. In the current 5-year plan, regarding the rate of increase in production, the machine building complex is to outstrip industry by 70 percent. Base industries such as machine tool building, the production of computer equipment, instrument making, and electronics are to develop even more rapidly. The party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have laid down special state priorities in respect of machine building.

The main point lies in the fact that quantitative growth has been given a qualitative content and mirrors the intention behind restructuring in general. The revolutionary task has been set of ensuring that by the end of the current 5-year period 85-95 percent of the key types of equipment we produce correspond to modern technical standards. An efficient and—most importantly—flexible scientific and production potential is being created in the sectors. The aim is to ensure that the country's requirements for high-performance equipment are met in a situation of rapidly changing demand in conditions of an economy based on economic accountability. It is planned to make extensive use of progressive technologies, machine tools with numerical program control, flexible production systems, and precision equipment and to introduce robotics in production.

All this will require a general mobilization of forces, and an all-out effort from all of us. In most labor collectives this is already becoming a fact of life. The machine building complex is essentially a proving ground for testing the innovations engendered by restructuring. Machine builders have pioneered the application of the principles of economic accountability and self-financing. They have tackled the restructuring of the organizational structure of management ahead of others. The state acceptance system and independence in foreign economic activities have been tested and the work of the new government organs for the leadership of groups of sectors has been initiated here.

Or take a look at social policy. As is well known, Gorkiy motor vehicle builders launched the initiative to resolve the major social problem of providing every family with its own apartment ahead of schedule by 1995. The Gorkiy workers have placed their pledges on a firm basis and are successfully implementing them. More than one-fourth of machine building complex plants have now set themselves the same task.

Social thrust is one of the characteristic features of restructuring in machine building. In comparison with the preceding 5-year plan the average annual amount of housing commissioned in 1986-1987 has increased by 9.3 percent, schools by 20 percent, vocational technical schools by 47 percent, polyclinics by 34 percent, and clubs and cultural centers by 24 percent. In 1987 the rate of increase in appropriations for the social sphere was double that of capital investments as a whole.

Investments for retooling and reconstruction of production and the development of the experimental base are exceeding the targets provided for in the modernization program. The volume of capital construction work carried out by the sectors' own forces has increased and own machine tool building is increasing at a fast rate.

All this has made progress along the highway of restructuring in the production of equipment corresponding to world standards a realistic proposition. The share of output which corresponds to these standards has almost doubled in 1986-1987. This does not just apply to isolated experimental models. New generations of equipment have been introduced in the economy which meet the demands of restructuring that efficiency must be increased manifold.

For instance, the machine for continuous casting with the two-dimensional draft of the blank, developed by the "VNIIMETMASH" association, has doubled productivity, and the new system for contact welding of pipelines, developed by the Ye.O. Paton Electrowelding Institute in cooperation with electrical engineers, has increased productivity twenty-fivefold! There are plenty of other examples.

Naturally, no one, either in top management or at the grassroots level, is deluding themselves with these first results. Everyone is aware of how important it is to establish a firm foothold in leading positions and to make even more vigorous efforts to accelerate scientific and technical progress.

[Parfenov] There has been quite a lot of criticism on account of the poor performance of machine building last year. What caused this slump and what results are expected this year?

[Volskiy] I believe this question should be posed much more pointedly. Everyone—enterprises, machine building ministries, and central economic organs alike—must draw precise conclusions from last year's lessons. True, the year, and especially the beginning of the year, was not easy for the national economy as a whole. However, in machine building the disruption in the fulfillment of the production program was of a protracted nature. To break out of this situation, intensive work in all spheres, the economic and the party sphere, was necessary. Not until the second half of the year was it possible to stabilize the situation. The remaining backlog was considerable. Why did this happen?

Many collectives, their economic management, and party organizations dragged their feet in switching to intensive methods of development and failed to make the necessary preparations to ensure the fulfillment of the rigorous targets in conditions made even more complex by the introduction of state acceptance and the

demand for 100-percent fulfillment of contract commitments. In some places leading cadres simply succumbed to confusion and gave in to difficulties, they failed to take action and relaxed exactingness.

There is another reason. Machine builders were frequently let down by suppliers. For the sake of self-criticism this reason need not be mentioned now, but for the sake of truth it cannot be ignored!

As for the prospects of the current year, its tasks are even more complex. Because of last year's disruptions, the intensity of the work is substantially increasing. Machine builders are energetically mobilizing all forces and resources to fulfill the control targets. Most collectives firmly intend to fulfill the targets for the first 2 and 1/2 years of the 5-year plan and to clear all backlogs by the opening of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The beginning of the year has been excellent. The plan was fulfilled and an increase of 11.6 percent has been achieved on the previous January.

The increase in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan slightly exceeded the increase for the first 3 years of the last 5-year plan. Despite the prevailing difficult conditions, machine builders are advancing in the implementation of their supreme task of radically improving the technical standard of machines. Key 2-year targets of the modernization program in the updating of output, increasing the share of machines equipped with micro-processors, and some other tasks have fulfilled or exceeded.

We are firmly adhering to the set course toward creating a good headstart in scientific and technical development work. Machine builders have now accumulated more than 1,000 designs based on top world achievements.

[Parfenov] PRAVDA receives many complaints from consumers about the low quality of certain types of machine building output. Are there any practical changes regarding the improvement of quality?

[Volskiy] Yes, there are changes for the better. As is known, during the years of stagnation, there was much talk about the problem of quality, but the practical solution of this problem did not begin until after April 1985.

The breakthrough—and this is also something that must be frankly admitted—was the introduction of the state acceptance of output. This was felt most keenly in machine building. During the initial period state acceptance was introduced at around 1,000 enterprises which accounted for 53 percent of all machine building output. As from the beginning of the current year, the number of these enterprises has been considerably increased and they currently account for 70 percent of output.

Judging by the practical experience gained in machine building, it is possible to draw the following conclusion: State acceptance essentially blocked the channels through which substandard machinery was reaching the national economy, it forced people to establish order in production and engineering, and to reinforce technological discipline.

This drastic change did not go entirely smoothly. As soon as state acceptance was introduced, many loud voices were raised claiming it was hampering and even all but paralyzing production. What was the problem? Looking truth squarely in the face we must admit that the difficulties caused by the introduction of state acceptance were a repayment of our debts built up through our own idleness and complacency in the past. People who paid no attention to quality and at the same time featured as pacesetters regarding gross output indicators were naturally faced with production disruptions, increased labor expenditure, and longer production cycles. However, no matter how much certain people would have liked to have followed the well-trodden path of citing objective reasons as excuses, the most important aspect is that state acceptance gained the backing of labor collectives which thus graphically expressed their attitude to restructuring.

Today it is becoming increasingly more obvious that state acceptance is also becoming a factor of the enhancement of the technological standard of output. Here are some examples. Labor expenditure in the startup and running in of machine tools produced at the Moscow "Krasnyy Proletariy" Association has been cut by 25 percent. The time needed to assemble heavy excavators produced by the "Krasnyazhmash" Association has been reduced by 2 months, and so on and so forth.

In addition to the development of the state acceptance system, vigorous steps must be taken to create effective quality control systems. This must be approached from the broadly based positions of the new methods of management, and thorough use must be made of economic, technical, and even educational measures to motivate people and coordinate their actions with a view to achieving constant high quality. In this, just like in other areas of scientific and technical development, we closely cooperate with the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building.

[Parfenov] In the current year the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing are being widely applied in the country. What can you say about the progress of this process in machine building?

[Volskiy] The machine building complex has now fully switched to the new system and I must say it was not starting from scratch. There had been the initiative of the VAZ [Volzhskiy Motor Vehicle Plant] and Sumy workers which was widely publicized throughout the country, and there were experiments in the application of economic accountability in instrument building. Last

year 3 sectors—the motor vehicle industry, instrument building, and chemical and petroleum machine building—were working in the new conditions.

The results of the economic activity of enterprises in the 3 sectors, although they occupied the position of an "enclave" in the economy of the complex, have confirmed both the viability and the dynamism of the new methods of management. Take profit, for instance. In the conditions of economic accountability the plan for this indicator was exceeded by 3.5 percent by these sectors and the rate of increase totaled 11.9 percent while the remaining machine building sectors failed to meet their target. Last year personnel was cut by 16,000 people, of which 12,000 at enterprises operating on economic accountability. The percentage of the fulfillment of contract commitments was much higher at economically accountable enterprises.

What is the situation in the current year? Frankly speaking, the process of radical economic reform is not proceeding without contradictions. Unfortunately, in machine building too, we frequently encounter situations where, as was noted at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, people at the center are still clinging to gross output indicators, there is evidence of administration by decree through state orders, and attempts are made to present camouflaged forms of command management as economic methods of management. So far there are difficulties in the application of the rates for the distribution of profit. Newspapers, journals, radio, and television are reporting the acute problems which are arising in this sphere. All this is put down to the fact that uncharted territory is being explored in the economy and to the complex nature of the transitional period when new and old methods of leadership are forced to coexist and the 5-year plan is unshakable.

These are the realities of life, of course. In my view, however, they are not as complex as to justify the transformation of the state order into a schedule plan and an instrument of overt pressure which happens in some cases. The unexplored nature of the new conditions is not as hazy or as dangerous as to justify the replacement of an economic approach to the establishment of norms by a mere conversion of rubles into percentages, or in other words, by providing the old administrative-command mechanism with a new terminology.

The Sumy machine builders have drawn up scales for deductions from profits to be paid into the budget depending on the profitability of production. Essentially this represents an integrated system of taxation of enterprises' profit. This is a very interesting experience. Hundreds of lectures have been delivered on this subject. Dozens of "round table" discussions have been held including one organized by the journal KOMMUNIST. Their participants have unanimously backed the Sumy method. However, economists have so far remained silent on this subject. No practical steps have been taken

to test the aforementioned system in other sectors. Is this perhaps the correct approach to the process of improving the reform mechanism which must be dynamic and continuous from the outset?

In our practical work we are focusing the attention of party organizations and the newly elected labor collective councils on the endeavor of earning more and more profit through labor. After all, there is no other way. Then there will also be something to distribute. Enhanced attention is being paid to enterprises which make a loss or small profit. At many of them precise programs for improving their economic situation have been drawn up with the help of competent specialists, and it is necessary to ensure that these programs are persistently implemented.

A major event was the enactment of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). Less than 2 months have passed since then, so what has emerged as the most characteristic result? As soon as labor collectives felt in charge of their enterprises, they immediately focused on the root question concerning their future, namely the quality of plans. On the whole enterprises' counterproposals concerning the volume of production are below the control figures. There is evidence of ministries' failure to take account of discrepancies in the redistribution of production, of errors in figuring the real production capacities, and an imbalance between targets and material resources.

At present ministry specialists are helping to eliminate "bottlenecks" at local level, they are organizing additional production sharing and allocating the lacking resources. They admit that the enterprises are right. There is no other way. The independence of the collective is inalienable and has been placed under the strictest party supervision.

[Parfenov] What questions connected with the fulfillment of the program for the modernization of machine building demand additional decisions? What, in your view, could hamper the fulfillment of this program?

[Volskiy] I will say this: It is impossible to halt the development of machine building. This is an irreversible process. It is appropriate to recall M.S. Gorbachev's remark which he made when he visited the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements Machine Building Show: "No deviation from the adopted program for the modernization of machine building and the state priorities which have been granted are permissible."

The stance of the party has been formulated clearly and unequivocally, but in practice there are plenty of things that do not match up. Machine building sectors are frequently regarded as of secondary importance during the allocation of material and technical resources and

new progressive materials and when contract work volumes are laid down. The purpose of priority development is to ensure that all priorities are strictly observed.

The situation in capital construction is causing concern. It cannot be said that construction organizations have not focused their attention on machine building. This focus, however, is not steady enough. For instance, construction workers summoned up all their resolve and the plan for the first 6 months of last year was overfulfilled. This was followed by a slump and the annual plan was not fulfilled. The result of this fitful performance is a substantial shortfall over the first 2 years of the 5-year plan in the commissioning of fixed production capital.

[Parfenov] In machine building the sectorial principle is most clearly pronounced. How does it fit in with the concept of radical economic reform?

[Volskiy] The sectorial principle reflects the specific features of Soviet machine building whose historical development was geared to ensuring the economic independence of the Soviet state. This does not mean that the production structure does not need to be improved. Recently the sectors which produce medical equipment, machinery for livestock raising and feed production, and the power industry were reshaped.

The sectorial principle does not rule out the establishment of intersectorial production associations. An experiment is in preparation in Leningrad. Intersectorial production associations of a new type are being set up in power machine building. These will be special socialist corporations consisting of industrial enterprises and research, planning, and design organizations.

What transformations are being implemented or are in preparation at ministries? In accordance with the new general management schemes, the structural subdivisions of central ministry apparatuses which do not correspond to the new conditions of management are being reduced. At the same time, the policy of completely removing the pressure of administrative-command methods from enterprises and focusing ministries' efforts on the elaboration and implementation of long-term questions of accelerated socioeconomic development is being steadily implemented.

In connection with the aforementioned reshaping of sectors, two ministries have been abolished. Further steps in this direction are in the offing. Ministries' central apparatuses are being reduced by 30-40 percent. This process is not progressing painlessly, of course, but it is the only correct answer.

[Parfenov] Arkadiy Ivanovich, what can you tell readers about the work of the CPSU Central Committee Machine Building Department?

[Volskiy] Naturally, in our efforts to explain the changes taking place we are forced to take a closer and more self-critical look at our own work. I will not be telling a lie if I say that we who work at the department have been particularly aware of the profound meaning of the party-wide demand: "It is necessary to begin restructuring with oneself." After April 1985 the Central Committee departments dealing with machine building were amalgamated into one department. The composition of the personnel has been substantially reduced, renewed, and rejuvenated.

Shifting the center of gravity to live work among the masses and thus mobilizing the tremendous creative potential of the 970,000-strong army of Communists in the machine building sphere, purposefully improving cadre policy, deepening the analysis of the development trends in the complex and applying political methods in all this work—this is the gist of the main practical steps which we are taking today.

Last year my colleagues made 240 trips to local party organizations, plants, and institutes. On every occasion the early experience of restructuring and above all of democratization and glasnost was carefully sifted. We also came across situations where initiative and enterprise were being stifled under empty talk, pseudoprograms, and measures adopted for the sake of appearances. We reported all this without delay to the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee and took the necessary steps.

For instance, among other questions, the department studied the situation at machine building enterprises in Moscow and Kharkov. Restructuring has noticeably mobilized people here and a collective quest is under way. At the same time, however, stereotypes are still at work. Communists at Moscow enterprises made no secret of the fact that in the party gorkom apparatus under its former leadership there was more concern about what should be said and how to ensure that it "looks good" rather organizing work in a businesslike fashion to ensure that the set aims are achieved without fail. We faithfully reported this to the capital's party economic aktiv.

Many party organizations in Kharkov oblast were operating along the old lines. They were the first in the republic to support the initiative of the Leningraders to switch to work in 2 or 3 shifts, but in practice they frequently adopted the method of mechanically distributing workers throughout the shifts. The result? While the number of workers working in shifts increased, the number of jobs also increased. As a result efficiency was impaired.

To sum up the impressions from trips to the local level, it is possible to say the following. Some comrades are complaining that in the economic sphere radical changes as a result of restructuring are not being achieved as swiftly as one might wish. Others, on the other hand,

believe too many innovations are being introduced. Everyone agrees, however, that although work has become more difficult, it is also more interesting, there are positive changes, the moral atmosphere and our entire life have become purer, and indifference is irrevocably receding into the past.

Now that we have entered the new and most complex and crucial stage of practical actions, it is very important that everyone, workers, engineers, management workers, and party leaders, become deeply aware of the fact that restructuring is a revolution and as V.I. Lenin said "any revolution is worth its salt only if it is capable of defending itself..." Proceeding from this, it is necessary we all learn to defend our restructuring.

Together with party organizations at the local level, the department is attentively following the development of the process of democratization of production management. Since the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum more than 67,000 leaders of various levels have been elected at enterprises and organizations of the complex. During the new stage of restructuring we are devoting paramount attention to the monitoring of the implementation of radical economic reform and the expansion of enterprises' independence. In short, there is a lot of work to be done.

This is a short description of the picture which is emerging in the machine building complex. It is possible to claim with utmost conviction the complex is on the way up. This is no easy matter and there are still more than enough problems whose solution will depend on how the cadres manage to restructure themselves.

However, it is perfectly clear that a new distinguishing feature has begun to emerge in collectives. It consists of working efficiently and independently, thinking, accepting responsibility and answerability for high end results, invariably striving for such results, thinking about the future, about prospects, planning for the future of one's enterprise, design bureau, or institute. I am convinced that machine building has the potential, has everything it needs to achieve even swifter progress. All this will be utilized in accordance with the demands of the tasks of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

Briefs

Joint Venture Crankshafts

A unique complex of automatic lines for manufacturing crankshafts for the Don 1500 combine engines has been put into operation at the Kharkov Serpi Molot works. Built by designers from the USSR, Bulgaria, Japan, and the FRG, the unified facility, combining tens of lines, employs only 67 people, compared to the 500 people

working three shifts who would be required to produce the same amount by older methods. [Summary] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 5 Mar 88 LD]

Tanker Launched

A collective of the Kherson ship building production association has launched ahead of schedule a tanker of (?strengthened) construction. The tanker has a displacement of 36,000 tonnes and was made for export. The main engine was built in the Bryansk engineering works and has a capacity 12,600 horsepower. It is more economic than before and will provide a speed of 19.4 knots, or 38.5 km per hour. The tanker has the latest radio-navigation equipment and efficient and comfortable living conditions. [Summary] [Moscow Television Service in Russian 0710 GMT 4 Mar 88 LD]

Agricultural

Nikonov, Murakhovskiy Attend Moscow Seminar
LD042334 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 4 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] Questions connected with the improvement of pedigree livestock breeding in the country's animal husbandry have been discussed at an all-union conference seminar, organized by the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. It took place in Moscow 3-4 March. It was noted that in the last 2 years animal husbandry has begun to develop more stably, owing to which increased output has been achieved in this branch of agriculture. At the same time the problem of increasing milk and meat production to improve supplies to the population remains urgent and topical. In the coming 5-year period the task is to take the potential of dairy productivity to a countrywide average of 5,000 kg of milk per cow in a year, and 6,000-7,000 kg in regions of intensive animal husbandry, to increase significantly the average daily weight gain of cattle and pigs and to create sheep flocks with improved qualities of productivity.

The conference seminar was addressed by Comrade Nikonov and Comrade Murakhovskiy, Council of Ministers first deputy chairman and USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee chairman.

Nagorno-Karabakh Agriculture Status Surveyed
PM071203 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 88
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[TASS report: "Work Signs of the Karabakh Spring"]

[Text] Mardakert (Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast), 4 Mar—The snowless winter has caused amendments to be made to the plans of the sovkhoz named for the 22d party congress, whose collective is headed by Hero of Socialist Labor S. Mamunts. The warm days which have set in are making farmers hurry. There is a lot to do—watering vineyards, top dressing winter crops with mineral fertilizers, preparing the soil for spring crops.

This year the farm is gambling on intensive technologies. They are being used in the cultivation of more than 400 hectares of winter crops, for example. This is quite a lot if you consider the livestock sector demands special attention nowadays. It is important not to lose out on milk yields, whose level does not fall below 12 kg throughout the wintering period.

How is it possible to maintain such high productivity? Economic accountability [khozraschet] helps, M. Kardumyan, sovkhoz chief agronomist, says. Precisely with the introduction of the new form of labor incentive we made feed production a separate sector—which enabled us to procure 30 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock for wintering. There is another circumstance which promotes a high level of dairy herd productivity. We procured not only sufficient feed but also high-quality feed. The hay and silage on the sovkhoz are first-class.

Beets have also been of good assistance in the ration. Last year 600-700 quintals of roots were harvested per hectare here. The economically accountable teams of B. Astsatryan and A. Shagants obtained twice as much. They are having a busy time now, too. For, as the saying goes, a spring day feeds the year, and it is also necessary to succeed in the vineyards, of which the farm has 900 hectares. Supplying them with water is an important spring agrotechnical procedure.

Some 2-2.5 hectares are usually watered per day. But this year the deadlines and lost time are putting pressure on the workers. Workers are seeking to exceed the norms by 50-100 percent.

The hardworking, skilled sovkhoz collective is well known in the republic. It has much to do, for it is faced with holding on to the positions it has won. In livestock raising, where livestock productivity has reached almost 5,000 kg, it is faced with exceeding this level, and it must achieve more in crop growing.